BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

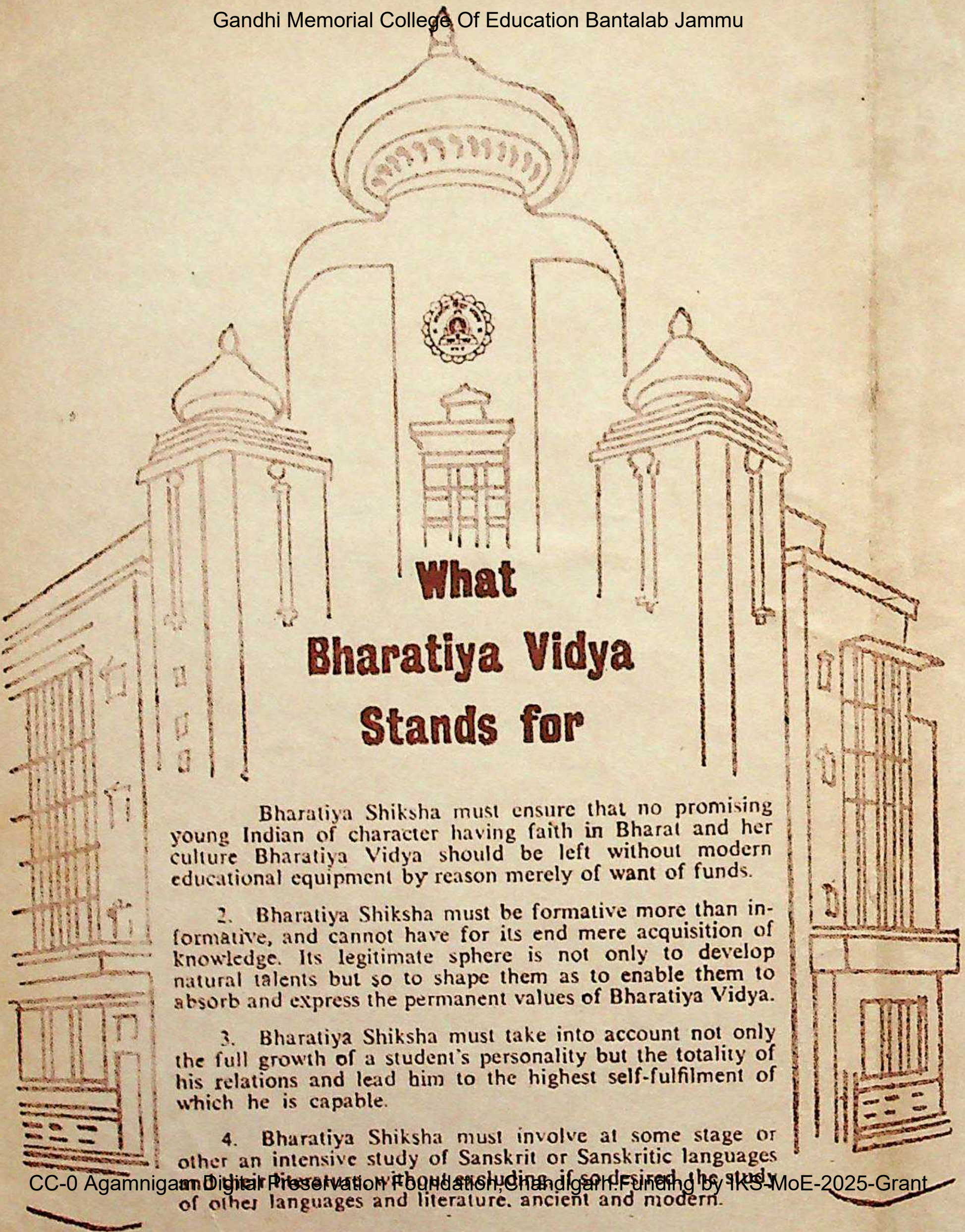
ENDS AND MEANS

ALDOUS HUXLEY

GENERAL EDITORS

K. M. MUNSHI
R. R. DIWAKAR

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY



What Bharatiya Vidya Stands for

Bharatiya Shiksha must ensure that no promising young Indian of character having faith in Bharat and her culture Bharatiya Vidya should be left without modern educational equipment by reason merely of want of funds.

2. Bharatiya Shiksha must be formative more than informative, and cannot have for its end mere acquisition of knowledge. Its legitimate sphere is not only to develop natural talents but so to shape them as to enable them to absorb and express the permanent values of Bharatiya Vidya.

3. Bharatiya Shiksha must take into account not only the full growth of a student's personality but the totality of his relations and lead him to the highest self-fulfilment of which he is capable.

4. Bharatiya Shiksha must involve at some stage or other an intensive study of Sanskrit or Sanskritic languages and their literature, without excluding, if so desired, the study of other languages and literature, ancient and modern.

5. The re-integration of Bharatiya Vidya, which is the primary object of Bharatiya Shiksha, can only be attained through a study of forces, movements, motives, iddas, forms and art of creative life-energy through which it has expressed itself in different ages as a single continuous process.

6. Bharatiya Shiksha must stimulate the student's power of expression, both written and oral, at every stage in accordance with the highest ideals attained by the great literary masters in the intellectual and moral spheres.

7. The technique of Bharatiya Shiksha must involve—

(a) the adoption by the teacher of the *Guru* attitude which consists in taking a personal interest in the student; inspiring and encouraging him to achieve distinction in his studies; entering into his life with a view to form ideals and remove psychological obstacles; and creating in him a spirit of consecration; and

(b) the adoption by the student of the *Shishya* attitude by the development of—

(i) respect for the teacher,

(ii) a spirit of inquiry,

(iii) a spirit of service towards the teacher, the institution, Bharat and Bharatiya Vidya.

8. The ultimate aim of Bharatiya Shiksha is to teach the younger generation to appreciate and live up to the permanent values of Bharatiya Vidya which flowing from the supreme art of creative life-energy as represented by Shri Ramachandra, Shri Krishna, Vyasa, Buddha and Mahavira have expressed themselves in modern times in the life of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, and Swami Vivekananda, Shri Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi.

9. Bharatiya Shiksha while equipping the student with every kind of scientific and technical training must teach the student, not to sacrifice an ancient form or attitude to an unreasoning passion for change; not to retain a form or attitude which in the light of modern times can be replaced by another form or attitude which is a truer and more effective expression of the spirit of Bharatiya Vidya; and to capture the spirit afresh for each generation to present it to the world

आ नो भद्राः क्रतवो यन्तु विश्वतः ।

Let noble thoughts come to us from every side.

—*Rigveda,* 1-89-i

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

General Editors :
K. M. MUNSHI
R. R. DIWAKAR

105

ENDS AND MEANS

BY
ALDOUS HUXLEY

CONDENSED BY
N. S. TAPARIA

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

Organising Committee:

LILAVATI MUNSHI—*Chairman*
K. K. BIRLA
S. G. NEVATIA
J. H. DAVE
S. RAMAKRISHNAN

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

ENDS AND MEANS

BY

ALDOUS HUXLEY

CONDENSED BY

N. S. TAPARIA

Vidya Bhavan Kendra
Acc No. 99 Bh
Date 3/4
Jammu

G.M. College of Education
Bantalab
Acc. No. 2953 (D)
Dated 3/2/2016

1962

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

CHAUPATTY, BOMBAY

This condensed version of *Ends and Means* by Aldous Huxley is copyright, and is published by permission of the Author and Messrs. Chatto & Windus Ltd. of 40-42, William IV Street, London, W.C. 2, to whom all inquiries should be referred.

C. ALDOUS HUXLEY 1962.

First published in this Series—December 1962

Price : Rs. 2/-

PRINTED IN INDIA

BY P. H. RAMAN, AT ASSOCIATED ADVERTISERS AND PRINTERS, 505, TARDEO ARTHUR ROAD, BOMBAY 34 AND PUBLISHED BY S. RAMAKRISHNAN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY 7.

GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan—that Institute of Indian Culture in Bombay—needed a Book University, a series of books which, if read, would serve the purpose of providing higher education. Particular emphasis, however, was to be put on such literature as revealed the deeper impulsions of India. As a first step, it was decided to bring out in English 100 books 50 of which were to be taken in hand almost at once. Each book was to contain from 200 to 250 pages and was to be priced at Rs. 2/-.

It is our intention to publish the books we select, not only in English, but also in the following Indian languages: Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

This scheme, involving the publication of 900 volumes, requires ample funds and an all-India organisation. The Bhavan is exerting itself to the utmost to supply them.

The objectives for which the Bhavan stands are the reintegration of Indian culture in the light of modern knowledge and to suit our present-day needs and the resuscitation of its fundamental values in their pristine vigour.

Let me make our goal more explicit :

We seek the dignity of man, which necessarily implies the creation of social conditions that allow him freedom to evolve along the lines of his own temperament and capacities; we seek the harmony of individual efforts and social relations, not in any makeshift way, but within the frame-work of the Moral Order; we seek the creative art of life, by the alchemy of which human limitations are progressively transmuted, so that man may become the instrument of God, and is able to see Him in all and all in Him.

The world, we feel, is too much with us. Nothing would uplift or inspire us so much as the beauty and aspirations which such books can teach.

In this series, therefore, the literature of India, ancient and modern, will be published in a form easily accessible to all. Books from other literatures of the world, if they illustrate the principles we stand for, will also be included.

This common pool of literature, it is hoped, will enable the reader, eastern or western, to understand and appreciate currents of world thought, besides the movements of the Indian mind, which, though they flow through different linguistic channels, have a common urge and aspiration.

Fittingly, the Book University's first venture is the *Mahabharata*, summarised by one of the greatest living Indians, C. Rajagopalachari; the second work is on a section of it, the *Gita*, by H. V. Divatia, an eminent jurist and a student of philosophy. Centuries ago, it was proclaimed of the *Mahabharata*: "What is not in it, is nowhere." After twenty-five centuries, we can use the same words about it. He who does not know it does not know the heights and depths of the soul; he misses the trials and tragedy and the beauty and grandeur of life.

The *Mahabharata* is not a mere epic; it is a romance, telling the tale of heroic men and women and of some who were divine; it is a whole literature in itself, containing a code of life, a philosophy of social and ethical relations, and speculative thought on human problems that is hard to rival; but, above all, it has for its core the *Gita*, which is, as the world is beginning to find out, the noblest of scriptures and the grandest of sagas the climax of which is reached in the wondrous Apocalypse in the Eleventh Canto.

Through such books alone, the harmonies underlying true culture, I am convinced, will one day reconcile the disorders of modern life.

I thank all those who have helped to make this new branch of the Bhavan's activity successful.

Queen Victoria Road, K. M. MUNSHI
NEW DELHI:
October 3, 1951.

FOREWORD

THIS is an abridgment of Aldous Huxley's work *Ends and Means* condensed by Sri Narendra Singh Taparia in which the author stands for the position advocated by Gandhiji that the "ends are shaped by the means we employ." This, according to the author, is the foundation of the pacifist creed. In effect therefore, it is a commentary on the aphorisms of the *Yoga Sutra* that when non-violence is confirmed in the heart the opponent gives up his hostility.

In this work Huxley repudiates the generally accepted theory that the causes of war are exclusively or predominantly economic. The author finds the causes of war in the psychological attitudes of men, among other things in nationalism, militarism, religious fanaticism, personal vanity of leaders. According to the author, pacifism is a policy which has not only the merit of being morally right but strictly practical and business-like.

The urge for peace, according to Aldous Huxley, must come from individuals, for, the reform of the individuals alone leads to the reform of the society. Personal pacifism is a personal ethic, a way of life. "Good intentions and personal devotion", says Huxley, "are not enough to save the world; if they were the world would have been saved before this—for the supply of saints has never failed. But the good are sometimes and often ill-informed."

Fascinated by Aldous Huxley's treatment of War and Peace, Shri Taparia in his appreciative abridgment maintains the spirit of the original.

Shri Narendra Singh Taparia, after obtaining the Master's Degree in English Literature from the Allahabad University, took to business, making a success of it. However, he would not give up his first love, and continued his literary pursuits with undiminished interest. A career so full of promise was cut off by the cruel hand of death. The Bhavan is indebted to his wife, Smt. Anasuyadevi Taparia, who, as a tribute to his sacred memory, has helped in the publication of this work.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,
Chaupatty Road, Bombay-7.
December 14, 1962.

K. M. MUNSHI

CONTENTS

Chapter Page

General Editor's Preface v

Foreword ix

I. Goals and Roads 1

II. The Nature of Explanation 5

III. Efficacy and Limitation of Large-scale Reform 7

IV. Reform and Violence 9

V. The Planned Society 11

VI. Nature of the Modern State 18

VII. Centralisation and Decentralisation .. 20

VIII. Decentralisation and Self-Government .. 23

IX. War 29

X. Individual Work for Reform 42

XI. Inequality 55

XII. Education 60

XIII. Religious Practices 79

XIV. Beliefs 88

XV. Ethics 101

CHAPTER I

GOALS AND ROADS

Since the dawn of history the prophets and the founders of religions have spoken with one voice about the ideal goal of human effort. They all looked forward to a Golden Age in which there will be liberty, peace, justice and love.

There is, however, a clash of contradictory opinions with regard to the roads which lead to that goal. Among those who think in terms of social machinery, some believe that the royal road to a better world is the road of economic reform, for others the short-cut to Utopia is military conquest, still others believe in armed revolution. Among those who think in terms of changing the individuals who compose society, there are those who believe that the ideal individuals of an ideal society can alone create a Golden Age which we all desire.

What is the ideal individual of the idealists, the prophets and the founders of religions?

From time to time particular social circumstances have evolved the magnanimous man, the chivalrous man, the respectable man, the liberal man, and the sheep-like man —all contradictory ideals.

The ideals of the idealists—that is, those who have freed themselves from the prejudices of their time and place—are singularly alike. The idealists, the prophets, the founders of religions, the free philosophers, and the mystics, have liberated themselves from such prejudices by the practice of disinterested virtues and through direct insight into the real nature of the ultimate reality. Such insight is a gift, and the principal pre-condition is the practice of disinterested virtues.

Critical intellect can also liberate an individual from the prejudices of his time and place. But the way in which intellect is used depends upon the will. Where the will is not disinterested, the intellect tends to be used for the rationalisation of dogmas and the justification of self-interest.

The ideal man therefore is the non-attached man—non-attached to self and to the things of this world, and attached to an ultimate reality greater than the self.

Non-attachment is not negative. It demands an intensely positive attitude towards the world. The practice of non-attachment in the midst of activity requires the practice of all the virtues—charity, courage, intelligence, generosity, disinterestedness, detachment and so on.

This ideal of non-attachment is there in Hinduism, in Buddhism, in Lao-tse of China, in the Stoics of Greece, in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, in many other philosophers and moralists of all nations. They all preach the gospel of non-attachment with the things of this world and of attachment to God. Spinoza's "blessedness" is simply the state of non-attachment, his "human bondage" the condition of one who is attached to the things of this world.

The non-attached man puts an end to pain not only in himself, but also to such pain as he may inflict on others.

European philosophers like Nietzsche, Marquis de Sade, Machiavelli, Hegel and Karl Marx have denied the value of non-attachment. These men are victims of their temperament and their particular social circumstances. Themselves slaves, they cannot understand the advantages of freedom. Unable to practise non-attachment, they are unable to preach it. They are eccentrics who stand outside the great tradition of civilised Asiatic and European philosophy.

Instead of advancing towards the ideal goal of the Golden Age, made possible by non-attached individuals, most of the peoples of the world are rapidly moving away from it. (1) The indifference of the modern public to slaughter, horror and atrocity points to a definite regression in charity (and we must not forget that real progress is progress in charity). (2) There is also a decline in men's regard for truth. Organised lying (in the form of propaganda inculcating hatred and vanity and war-mongering) has become the order of the day. The principal aim of the liars is the eradication of charity in social and political relations. (3) There is also a retreat from Monotheism to idolatry. The worship of one God has been abandoned in favour of the worship of such local divinities as the nation, the class, and even the deified individual. Such idolatrous worship is contrary to the general belief that all men are the sons of God, or "Tat Tvam Asi" (Thou art That).

In the modern world technological advance is rapid. But without progress in charity, technological advance is useless. Indeed, such advance only provides us with more efficient means for going backwards.

How can the progress in charity be revived, maintained and accelerated? How can regression in charity be halted and reversed? How can the average man and the exceptional man be transformed into non-attached beings who alone can create the ideal society of the prophets?

Causation in human affairs is multiple. Any given event has many causes. Therefore there can be no single sovereign cure for the disorders of the body politic. The remedy for disorder must be sought simultaneously in many different fields. This brings us to the relation of means to ends. Good ends can be achieved only by the employment of appropriate means. The end cannot justify the means. The means employed determine the nature of the ends produced. Men aspire to do good and yet so frequently achieve evil, because their means are bad. It is in the light of our conceptions of right and wrong that we can make real progress in private, political and economic life.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF EXPLANATION

In what does the process of explaining consist? In any given explanation, what is the quality which is intellectually satisfying?

The human mind (as opposed to the animal mind) has a tendency to reduce the diverse to the identical. We recognise things by reducing diversity to identity, multiplicity to unity. To this fact is due the existence of science, of philosophy, of theology.

Natural science, however, recognises the fact that there is a residue of diversity which cannot be reduced to the identical. Science tends to identify and generalise, but also recognises brute reality.

The human tendency towards identification and generalisation, if allowed too much scope, results in excessive simplification. Then the intellect tends to impose more identity than really exists in the brute diversity of phenomena. Man is a double being and can take, now the god's-eye view of things, now the brute's-eye view. These two views are essential—to know the difference between what is wholesome and what is poisonous. Thus chalk and cheese are both composed of electrons, but cheese is edible while chalk is not. Over-simplification in regard to some phenomena is fatal. The penalty for over-simplification in regard to other phenomena is not immediate. An extreme case of wholesale reduction of diversity to identity, and a common over-simplification of the facts is that which makes God responsible for all imperfectly understood phenomena. Secondary causes are ignored, and everything is referred back to the First Cause, the Creator.

We no longer make our over-simplification in terms of the will of God. We do not now refer phenomena to a First Cause. But we do still over-simplify the facts about society and individuals. To deal effectively with our human problems, we must recognise in things and events a residue of irrationality, diversity and specificity. We cannot change our Age of Iron into an Age of Gold, if we ascribe a single cause for all our ills. For all our ills there are many causes acting simultaneously. We must explore all the causes of our ills, if we are to realise our end. And our end—the goal of the prophets —is a free and just society, fit for non-attached men and women and such as only non-attached people could organize.

CHAPTER III

EFFICACY AND LIMITATION OF LARGE-SCALE REFORM

Can the ends we all desire be best achieved by a large-scale reform of society?

Reform is preventive ethics. The Christian Sermon on the Mount prays that "we may not be led into temptation." The reformer believes that man's environment can be so well organized that the majority of temptations will never arise. In other words, the individual will behave desirably, not because he will be non-attached, but because he will never be given the chance of attaching himself. There is no doubt much truth in this contention of the reformer. The reduction in the murder rate is due to a number of reforms. Reforms have unquestionably had the effect of reducing the number of temptations into which individuals may be led. The absence of temptation leads to the creation of an ethical habit. Thus the credit of behaving desirably, as a result of large-scale reform, is due to circumstances, not to the individuals. Therefore in a society moulded by large-scale reform the preservation of any ethical habit so formed becomes very important. Hence the vital necessity of avoiding war. Ethical standards break down in an atmosphere of war and violence. War not only destroys lives, but also shakes the whole fabric of society.

Reforms may also deliver men from one set of evils, only to lead them into evils of another kind. The old outlet is closed, but a new outlet is opened. The wickedness is not abolished, but it is provided with a different set of opportunities. For example, the main source of evil—the lust for power—has been deflected from one channel to another since times immemorial, never suppressed.

It may be possible to arrange a society in such a way that there will be no lust for power, a society in which men will not be attracted to work for fame, wealth, social position or power. But such a society will be necessarily based on sloth, ignorance and stupidity. The modern industrialised society, however, cannot do away with this lust for power. Even if it were possible, it would not be desirable. Can we create a new pattern of living in which lust for power can be avoided without sacrificing our scientific and industrial progress?

History records that scientific progressiveness has always been accompanied by aggressiveness. The association between progressiveness and aggressiveness need not be necessarily quite so complete.

Changes in the structure of society can bring about certain changes in human nature, but these changes do not abolish evil. There must be suppression of the evil at the source, in the individual will. Thus alone can we create a society in which scramble for power can be avoided without sacrificing technological progress.

CHAPTER IV

REFORM AND VIOLENCE

Violence cannot achieve anything except the inevitable results of violence. It is not possible to achieve progress in charity (which is real progress) by means that are essentially uncharitable. Still we go on believing that bad means can achieve the good ends we desire. Violence cannot lead to real progress, unless it is followed by non-violence by way of compensation and reparation. The longer violence has been used, the more difficult do the users find it to perform acts of non-violence. Violence tends to become a tradition or habit.

Any reform which requires violence for its imposition will fail to produce good results. Violence can produce only the effects of violence—counter-violence, suspicion, resentment, more violence. Violence ends liberties, and has been the main cause of the rise of totalitarian and imperial tyrannies. The effects of violence can be undone only by acts of non-violence.

We must choose our reforms in such a way that no violence or very little violence will be needed to enforce them. They must also visualise no future violence.

We must also not make the mistake committed by Hegel and every modern tyrant of affirming that the real is the rational, that the historical is the same as the ideal. The real is not the rational, not the right. Even among the things that are, some are more right than others. The ideal is the real, the right. Reformers must also respect human conservatism. Change is depressing. It is not necessary to make unnecessary or startling changes. Reformers must develop familiar principles and use familiar media for their enforcement, thus reducing the risk of violence in effecting the reform to a minimum.

CHAPTER V

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

The idea of planning has achieved universal popularity. Deliberate planning *is* necessary to improve the world, but we must not plan it into the likeness of hell.

Which kind of deliberate planning is necessary? How much of deliberate planning is necessary? All planning must be judged by our ideal postulates. Will any given plan help to transform society into a just, peaceable, morally and intellectually progressive society of non-attached and responsible men and women? There are evil-intentioned people who do not accept our ideal postulates. In this class we must place all totalitarian and military planners who base their plans on violence and consider peace as harmful to progress. Such planners believe that the best society is a nation living in hostility towards other nations. They despise the non-attached individual. They admire the individual who cultivates servility and other unworthy passions like pride, anger, envy and hatred. Such planning has only one ultimate aim, that of preparing nations for war against other nations, and educating people to be servile citizens.

There are also well-meaning people who accept our ideal postulates, who imagine that the ends can be achieved by wicked means, that desirable ends can be achieved by undesirable means. Such planners are like pacifists who believe that peace can be achieved by means of war. They are reformers who imagine that unfair and arbitrary acts can produce justice. They are revolutionaries who believe that centralisation of power and the enslavement of the masses can result in liberty for all. Opposition is illegal in their planning. Such planning is no less ruthless and disastrous than the planning of the totalitarians. Ruthlessness begets resentment which is put down violently. Violence begets violence and more violence. Thus, by making use of evil means, the well-meaning planners produce results which they did not desire.

In democratic countries the need for using good means to achieve desirable ends is more clearly realised. Most of the planning in the democratic countries is planning designed for war in defence of democracy. Such planning inevitably leads to militarism which is followed by centralisation of power, and centralisation is followed by the curtailment of liberties. Thus the same follies as committed by totalitarians are repeated by democratic countries by eventually using bad means to achieve desirable ends.

Some planning is not military in character, but economic. But even economic planning is carried out in the context of nationalism and militarism. It is a general truth that a given habit, rite, tradition, plan, takes on its peculiar significance from its context. Thus an economic or non-militaristic plan carried out in a national and militaristic context will differ in significance and results from a non-militaristic plan in a non-militaristic context. Economic national planning undertaken by a national government for the benefit of its own people disturbs that international economic harmony which is the result of national planlessness. Where there is no national planning, there is no rigid plan but only the observance of the rules of the game. But economic planning *is* necessary to help the people out of their economic privations. It is morally shocking as well as politically dangerous to leave the people to their lot. It is equally dangerous to help them by national planning, because national planning upsets international relations and increases the probability of war.

Thus we are on the horns of a dilemma.

The most sensible course is for the various national governments to take counsel together so that one national plan shall not interfere with another. But as long as nations are nationalistic, militaristic and imperialistic, international co-ordination is impossible. As long as we personify the nation as a National Person, as long as all nations are not prepared to sacrifice some of their sovereign rights, we cannot achieve international co-ordination in planning. The private person is a reasonable and moral being, but as a National Person he is incapable of patience, forbearance, forgiveness, commonsense and enlightened self-interest.

Planning with partial international co-ordination can be arranged between such nations as can agree upon them. There is a possibility that in due course other nations might join them. But planning always creates vested interests. To that extent the general advantage to a nation as a result of international co-operation may be undermined. Vested interests will always manoeuvre for special private advantages.

A drastic way of reducing international disharmony and friction is to reduce the number of international contacts. The less we have to do with one another, the more likely are we to keep the peace. This was possible in the spacious days of Free Trade. Free Trade believed in the exchange of commodities between nations according to their needs and capacities. But the spectacular progress of technology has enabled nations, out of fear of what might happen during war-time, to achieve national self-sufficiency. As no nation has a monopoly of technological discoveries, the discoveries of technology are exploited for the benefit of all. The dictators have used the idea of national self-sufficiency slyly for purposes of war. National self-sufficiency is an inevitable development because of technological progress, but it should be so guided as to serve the cause of peace.

In the old days empire-building was justified for food supply by over-populated countries. Imperialism has now lost this principal justification. Any nation which now chooses to apply the most advanced methods to the production of crops can support any population. Now "nations can live at home." No nation which is advancing technologically can now say that food cannot be bought because the country is preparing to go to war; the country must go to war because food cannot be bought. No nation which makes a serious effort for national plenty by application of advanced methods needs foreign conquest. Why then do nations not embark on constructive policies which will remove at least the economic causes of war? The answer is that people prepare for war because it is exciting and gives them certain personal or vicarious satisfaction, because they live in a society where success and rivalry are worshipped.

Thus we come to the conclusion that certain conditions must be fulfilled if planning is to succeed and the ideal of a non-attached society is to be realized. These conditions are:

(i) *Only strictly necessary reforms should be undertaken.* For example, changes can be made in the management of large-scale units of production, without touching small units of production. Thus many of the advantages of individualism can be preserved and the advantages of socialism obtained, and opposition to indispensable reforms minimised.

(ii) *No drastic change likely to result in violent opposition, however desirable, should be imposed except gradually.* For example, collectivised agriculture should be carried out by slow degrees. Carried out at one stroke, it would arouse violent opposition which would have to be crushed by yet greater violence. This unhappy situation can only produce the ordinary results of violence—brutality, tyranny, servility, irresponsibility. Farmers constitute an indispensable class in any nation. The people of the towns depend upon the farmers. It would be fatal to the people of the towns to liquidate, even to antagonise, the farmers. This is more true of highly industrialised small nations where the peasants are fewer; in such nations, farmers are a precious asset and indispensable.

(iii) *Desirable changes should be made by methods with which people are familiar and which they approve.* For example, the principle of limitation of profit can be used through income-tax and death duties for reducing economic inequalities. The principle of taxation can also be used for imposing the maximum wage. The principle of management by the State in the public interest of public utilities can be extended to wider fields. The principles of consumer co-operation and producer co-operation can be extended.

The tree is known by its fruits. The fruits of any given reform depend for their quantity and quality on the contexts of the reform as well as upon the reform itself. Therefore no reform can be separate from its many contexts—administrative, governmental, educational, psychological. For example, the result of collective ownership of the means of production is not necessarily the liberation of the workers. The workers are delivered from their servitude to many petty dictators, but at the same time they are also delivered into bondage of a totalitarian State with all its evil consequences. Therefore the contexts of an intrinsically desirable reform must be intrinsically desirable in themselves.

The contexts of reform are more desirable in the democratic than in the totalitarian states. Therefore the results are better in the democratic states. But even the democratic states play the game of war. To prepare for war, political power is centralised leading to the abridgement of liberties. Centralisation means planning, and planning means more centralisation. Planning—economic planning—leads to more planning to remedy mistakes which are bound to occur. Therefore both directly and indirectly, economic planning leads to a deterioration of the contexts in which desirable reforms can be carried out.

Public ownership of the means of production, production for use and not for profit, public control of finance and investment may be necessary and desirable reforms. But the contexts in which these highly desirable reforms may be enacted may be highly undesirable. If the contexts are undesirable, the results are bound to be disappointing. The means employed determine the nature of the result. The end may be very good, but its goodness is powerless to counteract the effects of the bad means we use to reach it.

Technological advance leads to changes. Changes are always distressing. But these changes can be foreseen a good many years in advance, and thus the best methods of preventing them from causing avoidable suffering can be thought out and worked out in advance to minimise their ill effects. The technicians can solve this problem. But it can be truly solved only in human terms—when many men of goodwill will make use of the methods by which it can be solved.

Rises and falls in the birth-rate also produce far-reaching changes. For example, the policies pursued by highly populated countries (e.g. Russia) cannot be pursued with advantage by under-populated countries (e.g. Britain, Holland). This leads to heartburning between nations. This is again a very human problem which can be solved only when large numbers of men of goodwill desire to solve it by appropriate steps.

CHAPTER VI

NATURE OF THE MODERN STATE

There are a few rulers and many ruled. The rulers are actuated by love of power, occasionally by a sense of duty, more often by both. For the ruled, the general rule is obedience; revolt is the exception.

The common people are patient, and are prepared to tolerate the intolerable. There are many reasons for this, among them ignorance, fear, and sense of kinship.

The main reason for obedience to law, however, is indolence. Now, sloth or indolence is a deadly sin. The poisonous fruits of sloth are irresponsible dictatorship and equally irresponsible obedience. Reforms of society should, therefore, aim at delivering men from the temptations of sloth and indolence no less than from the temptations of ambition and avarice.

Rulers aspire to rule *de jure* as well as *de facto*. All tyrants have their own theories of the State, theories which seek to justify their rule, e.g. the rule by divine right. Such theories are special pleadings for tyrants or would-be tyrants. We must, however, judge the nature of the State in terms of our ideal postulates. Hegel considered the judgment of the nature of the State in terms of the ideal postulates as "shallow." If the profundity of Hegel leads to Prussianism (militarism), shallowness is preferable.

To a greater or less degree, all the civilised nations of the modern world are made up of a small class of rulers corrupted by too much power, and a large class of subjects corrupted by too much obedience. In such a state of affairs, individuals cannot achieve non-attachment in the midst of activity. Where there is not a considerable degree of non-attachment in activity, the ideal society of the prophets cannot be realised.

What large-scale changes are best calculated to deliver us from the evils of too much power and of too much obedience?

Reforms, unless carried out by right means and in the right contexts, are either fruitless or fruitful of evil. Desirable changes in the character of society and of the individuals composing it can be brought about only by morally enlightened, well-informed and determined individuals voluntarily acting in concert.

CHAPTER VII

CENTRALISATION AND DECENTRALISATION

All—even Radicals, Anarchists, Communists—agree that authoritarian rule and too much concentration of power stand in the way of individual and social progress.

Our earth is round, but our history is flat. To attain a goal, we must advance directly towards it, and not walk round and round. The goal is freedom, justice, and co-operation between non-attached, yet active and responsible individuals. Can such a goal be reached through police espionage, military slavery, centralisation of power, political snobbery, doctrinated education and suppression of free discussion? No.

Marx described the State as a "parasite on society" and hoped that it would "wither away" after the revolution. Any state—whether feudal, capitalist, or communist—ensures the privileges of the ruling class who are a small minority. Rule by a privileged minority does not lead to liberty, justice, peace, co-operation, and a non-attached, yet active society. It leads to dictatorship, war and revolution in rapid succession. A state may be smashed by war or overturned by a revolution, but it will not wither.

The political road to a better society is the road of decentralisation and responsible self-government. No society which is preparing for war can introduce decentralisation and self-government. A democracy which prepares for war must necessarily cease to be democratic.

A centralised state is more likely to wage war than a decentralised self-governing state. Extreme centralisation of power leads the wielder of that power to hug the illusion that he is the state (*L Etat c'est moi*): For such individuals or groups of individuals war or threat of war is a method of self-assertion.

The prevalence of centralisation in the world creates the belief that centralisation is not a great evil, but sound policy. Every totalitarian state has a jargon, a set of terms to rationalise the maddest policies and justifying the most monstrous crimes. One word—historical—is common to all totalitarian jargon. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a historical necessity, communist violence is a historical process, a country has a historical mission. This appeal to history comes convenient to dictators. Hegel said that the real is the rational, that what happens is what ought to happen. Might triumphs over right, therefore might is right. If things occur, they are historical, and being historical, they are reasonable and right. In such an absolute manner absolute power corrupts absolutely. Even men and women who are not tyrants, or even the subjects of tyrants, are led to believe in 'historicalness' as a supreme value. This identification of what ought to be with what is vitiates all thinking about morals, politics, progress, reform, art.

The rational idealist deplores centralisation of power because its results are tyranny and enslavement. The historical rationalist, however, believes that tyranny will somehow result in democracy, enslavement in liberation, concentration of power in self-government. He believes that bad means will result in good ends, because the real is the rational, because there is a historical process of Providence conspiring to drive men in a certain direction. The ultimate aim of the rational idealist and the historical rationalist is the same, but the means are opposite. But 'historicalness' is not a value. The historical process is an unmitigated evil. What is by circumstances is not what ought to be.

CHAPTER VIII

DECENTRALISATION AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

The Anarchists propose the abolition of the state because it is the source of domestic oppression, foreign war, irresponsible domination and irresponsible submission. But in complex societies, the state has to act for and on behalf of society. Therefore the nature of the state should be reformed. The desirable contexts for reform are decentralisation and self-government; the desirable methods are non-violent methods.

To understand self-government, we must understand the psychology of people—of crowds and groups. A crowd is a lot of people; a group is a few people.

Human beings like to be members of a crowd. To escape from the self is a human craving. As they do not know how to travel upwards, human beings descend from self to animality. All totalitarian states encourage their subjects to be a crowd. Only thus can dictators prevent men from taking the road of non-attachment to the things of this world and attachment to God. A crowd idolises, not God, but the worldly gods—nation, party, class, boss. A group becomes a crowd when it exceeds the optimum size of ten to thirty.

Units of self-government should be groups of the optimum size. This principle can be introduced in all spheres of a nation's life, particularly industry and government. Thus will the workers in an industry or the citizens of a state enjoy a measure of independence accompanied by increased efficiency and responsibility.

Decentralisation of industry, that is conversion of large units into many self-governing units, will make the workers the subjects of a democratic state as well as of a democratic enterprise. Without such decentralisation leading to self-goverment, it is of no moment to an individual whether he is serving an enterprise owned by the state, or by a co-operative society, or by a joint-stock company, or by a private individual.

What Lenin said about wage-slaves being not "bothered with democracy" because they "remain crushed by want and proverty" is partially true. But even well-paid workers and capitalists and artists have no time for politics. Man is not made for democracy (or any other 'cracy' or ism), but democracy for man. Human beings belong to different types. Every individual should be made a member of a self-governing group which is suitable for him. Hence the need of many democratic units. In this way the curse of passive obedience could be rid, the vice of political indolence cured, the advantages of responsible and active freedom brought to all.

There are many reasons for the decline of the community and of the community sense. (i) Reduction of the size of the family as a result of birth-control. (ii) Disappearance of the joint-family. Large and joint families were crude schools of social sense. (iii) Improved and new methods of transport. Village affairs or economy are no longer insulated. There is a migration of people. Technological progress has made the people less dependent on one another. With fewer contacts, there is a decline in neighbourliness. (iv) Centralised professionalism (state-provided hospitals and services) has reduced local charity and mutual aid. Under State Socialism individual charity is even frowned upon and considered amateurish bungling. (v) A vast increase in the size and number of large cities. There is a migration from country to city. The most gifted leave their country homes to seek their fortunes in the towns, leaving behind a residue of ungifted people. This is one reason why it is hard to induce small farmers to adopt new methods of agriculture. Being the remains of the bottom of the bottle, they lack spirit and intellect and therefore foresight.

If the community life in the country has been impoverished, the community life of the cities has not been correspondingly enriched. In growing enormously, cities have also become chaotic. Men and women in cities care for nobody and nobody cares for them. The city does not exist as a community.

Schools and colleges can be used to offset the decay in family and village life. The old natural life of villages and small towns can be replaced by a life of associations organised for local government, for sport, for culture and the like. Such associations should be opened to larger numbers, and people should be attracted to join them. Such associations would make country life less dull and also arrest the flight of the people towards the city. The country man should be able to earn as much as the city man. For this purpose a rational and planned decentralisation of industry, and association of industry with agriculture is necessary. It is unwise and unnecessary to locate all industries in one area, just for increased profits due to lower producing and distributing costs.

In a modern city, the problem of organising responsible community life is not easily solved. The local government of a great city has become a specialised, technical affair, depending upon experts. The only department which can be self-governing, is the department of law and order. In Japan cities are divided into wards of a hundred each, each ward being responsible for good behaviour. Such a system has been abused by dictators. But there is no institution which cannot be abused. Elected parliaments can become instruments of oppression, plebiscites can confirm and strengthen tyranny, courts of justice can become courts of injustice. So the organisation of a great city into small wards may be a source of good in a desirable context, and a source of evil in an undesirable context. But the ward system deserves consideration, if a communal pattern is to be given to city life. Self-government cannot be introduced in any other branch of city administration for technical reasons. But self-government can be enjoyed in the fields of industry, religion, sports, culture and entertainment.

Is self-government all round compatible with the efficiency of industry in particular and society as a whole? In Russia self-government in industry was tried and abandoned in favour of authoritarian management. "Management means the power to distribute material things, to appoint and discharge subordinates, in a word, to be master of the particular enterprise." These are the words of a Communist (Kaganovitch)—the very words which a capitalist would also mouth. This change-over was justified in the interests of efficiency. But in the United

States, for example, self-government has led to increased efficiency. Like "Liberty," the word "Efficiency" covers a multitude of sins. Even if it should be proved that self-government in industry leads to greater efficiency by combining the best features of individualism and collectivism, the ruling classes in both tatalitarian and democratic states will always complain of inefficiency as a result of self-government. Efficiency for the ruling classes means military efficiency. A militarily efficient society is one whose members are habitually obedient to authority. In time of war, such an obedient society can be easily manipulated. A society composed of men and women habituated to work in self-governing units or groups may think and have a will of its own. Such a thinking society cannot be manipulated by a dictator. Thus self-government all round is not compatible with military efficiency. That is why the extension of the principle of self-government is not tried or, if tried, will be abandoned, by countries bent upon war or preparing for war.

Self-government in industry can be applied under capitalism or socialism or a co-operative or mixed system. Pure capitalism tends to produce petty dictators, and pure socialism a single dictator. Self-government will therefore work best in a mixed economy. Co-operatives and mixed concerns already exist and are working well. Their numbers should be increased, and their scope extended. This may not be a revolutionary act, but the act would be revolutionary in its effects. If the aim is self-government, planning and public control are likely to produce good results.

The growing demand for state action together with the distrust of state efficiency is a paradox. This paradox has been underlined by socialist and capitalist states by placing industrial units under public but autonomous management (instead of a nationalising under a government department). Only by some such means can the influence both of politics and of money be eliminated. Public corporations should work on a purely functional basis; politicians and vested interests should only determine general policy from a distance, only occasionally and indirectly. Above this functional management must be an ultimate technical authority to manage the managers. In the context of war, the rulers will join hands with such managers of managers for seizing absolute power. Even without the threat of war, a position of authority can be abused. Can this be prevented? Ambition may be checked, but cannot be suppressed. If it is to be suppressed, it must be scotched at the source by education in its widest meaning. In our society ambition is considered a virtue: Napoleon is more talked about than a servant of humanity like Schweitzer. Our heroes are social climbers and able bandits; if our heroes are such, our day-dreams can be visualised. Such adventurers must be regarded with disgust, like swindlers and pimps. So long as we worship the Caesers and Napoleons, Caesers and Napoleons will arise and bring misery upon us. The proper attitude towards the hero is Bacon's, not Carlyle's. Bacon wrote of a hero: "He doth like the ape that, the higher he climbs, the more he shows his airs." When men judge heroes like Bacon did, Duces and Fuhrers, Caesers and Napoleons will cease to plague humanity. Meanwhile we must be content by putting legal and administrative obstacles in the way of the so-called heroes. Hero-worship is a base form of human relationships.

CHAPTER IX

WAR

Every road towards a better society is blocked, sooner or later, by war, by threats of war, by preparations for war.

I. NATURE OF WAR

(i) War is a purely human phenomenon. The animals fight among themselves in the heat of excitement, kill for food and for sport. Only some insects fight in armies but against another species. Man is unique in organizing the mass murder of his own species.

(ii) To describe war as "nature's pruning hook," ensuring the survival of the fittest, is nonsense. War tends to eliminate the fittest—the young and the strong. Survival and domination after war is at random for nations; sometimes the unwarlike survive and the warlike are destroyed, and *vice versa*. So far as individuals are concerned, war selects dysgenically (fine offspring).

(iii) In primitive human societies like that of Eskimos war is unknown and unthinkable. All civilized societies are, however, warlike. Are war and civilization correlated? War made its appearance at a particular moment in the history of early civilization—a moment of abrupt change in the mode of human consciousness to which increased sexual continence may have contributed. The archaeological evidence of this change is the sudden appearance of royal palaces and mausoleums. The rise of war appears to be connected with the rise of self-conscious leaders preoccupied with ideas of personal glory and fame during life and after death. Today also, in addition to economic causes, personal fame and glory are causes of war.

(iv) The various civilizations of the world have adopted different attitudes towards war.

Europeans have always worshipped the military hero and, since the rise of Christianity, the martyr. They believe that a good death is more important than a good life, that a long course of folly and crime can be cancelled out by a single act of physical courage.

The Chinese (Confucius and Lao-tse) laud the just, reasonable, humane and cultivated man living at peace in an ordered and harmonious society. Confucius prefers a wise prudence to mere physical courage and declares that an untimely sacrifice of life is unfitting for a wise man. Lao-tse the mystic confirms and completes the rationalism of Confucius. The Tao lays down a cosmic principle that individuals must refrain from assertiveness, self-importance and aggressiveness, and must cultivate humility and return good for evil. European poets have glorified war. European theologians have justified religious persecution and national aggression. Chinese poets and philosophers have almost all been anti-militarists. The Chinese regarded the soldier as inferior to the scholar or administrator. Westernisation or Europeanisation of China has meant the progressive militarisation of a culture which has always preached the ideal of pacifism. Thanks to Britain in particular and Europe in general, the Chinese seem to have turned their back on the wisdom of Confucius and Lao-tse and gone whoring with European militarism.

Indian pacifism finds a complete expression in Buddhism. Both Buddhism and Hinduism teach *Ahimsa*—harmlessness towards all living beings. Buddhism particularly forbids arms, intoxicants, and slaughter of men or animals. Buddhism, of all religions, progressed without persecution, censorship or inquisition. Christianity progressed among people wedded to militarism, by an appeal to the savage Bronze Age literature of the Old Testament. To a Buddhist, anger is always an unconditional wrong. A Christian believes in "righteous" indignation. Christians have made war and committed crimes on the specious plea of righteous indignation.

Thus the three principal civilisations of the world—Chinese, Indian and European—have adopted different attitudes to war. This only proves that war is not natural, nor are the political and theological justifications of war natural. War is as unnatural as the murder of a person because of female jealousy. 19th century Europe considered crimes of passion socially correct. Just as people have freed themselves from the necessity of a crime of passion, can we not rid ourselves of war? War is not a law of nature, nor even a law of human nature. It exists because men wish it to exist. This wish for war has varied from zero to a maximum. The wills of modern people are to some extent free. Can we therefore not wish for peace, instead of war?

II. CAUSES OF WAR

(i) Many people like war because they find peace boring or humiliating and frustrating. The suicide rate among non-combatants tends to fall during war-time due to (a) the simplification of life during war-time, (b) national enthusiasm, (c) war work, however trivial, being considered patriotic, (d) the artificial prosperity induced by a war economy, (e) increased sexual freedom claimed by people living under the shadow of death, and (f) rumour-mongering and thrilling news published every day by the papers, putting an edge on excitement. Formerly the suicide rate declined only in belligerent countries, but now even in neutral states. Neutrals are able to enjoy, vicariously and at second-hand, thanks to newspapers, the exciting progress of war. The enthusiasm of non-combatants for war is being diminished by physical danger due to the totality of modern war. If conditions are very appalling, then even the most adventurous and combative human being will soon come to hate and fear war. The more people know the truth about the totality of modern war and the diabolical nature of the weapons of war and the effects of such weapons on human life, the less people will lean on war as an instrument of national policy. The proximity of physical danger is the surest propaganda against war. People will not welcome war as a relief from peace when they realise that this relief is bought at the cost of wholesale annihilation (material as well as spiritual).

(ii) Nationalism is a principal cause of war, because people seem to get a kick out of self-esteem, vanity, pride, contempt and hatred as between nations. In the normal course most men and women behave tolerably well, but in the field of international relations they behave badly. The "good" citizen feels a thrill of delight when his country "takes a strong line"—in other words, when it bluffs, bullies, swindles and steals. People will make sacrifices for the nation because of a sense of national righteousness, without realising that they are descending to baseness and becoming criminals by proxy.

(iii) Wars are fought for territories, frontiers and military advantages. The army and other units are used to test them for preparedness. This leads to a race for armaments which eventually results in war.

(iv) Wars may be made for furthering a religion or ideology. The Crusades and the Second World War are apt examples. However, all modern wars are waged for furthering an ideology.

(v) Wars were and are still fought for personal glory resulting from victory—glory of a king, a general, a dictator, a leader, or a party.

(vi) Wars are also fought for national glory. Propaganda through the press, the radio and the film brings national glory within the reach of all. A dictator manufactures glory abroad when things go bad at home. The cost of glory was cheaper in the past; war is now the affair of every man, woman and child. Glory must be paid for by all. The cost of modern war is so enormous that "national honour" and "vital interests" must be invoked for starting a war. Modern armaments are an insurance against small and trivial wars, but they are also a guarantee of unprecedented destruction in an eventual war.

(vii) The desire of one nation to possess another nation's fertile territory is another cause of war. Modern wars have been fought not so much for fertile lands as for the possession or control of raw materials.

(viii) In a capitalist society, defects in domestic purchasing power have to be made up by finding foreign markets. The 19th century in Europe ran in this direction. But no sooner is a market secured, than the industrialists paradoxically equip that market with machinery that will enable it to dispense with their goods. Capitalists do this because they are concerned not only to sell their production, but also to invest their savings. The profits from selling their production are small though lasting; the profits from investments in industries in backward countries, are enormous though temporary. In course of time the profits in overseas investments diminish, and the markets are also lost. But capitalists earn a huge return on their investments in the interval. This causes heartburning as between nations, what to speak of individuals.

(ix) The pursuit by politically powerful minorities within each nation of their own private interests is also a cause of war. In the past, the worst offenders in this respect were the private manufacturers of armaments like the notorious Sir Basil Zaharoff to whom war and the preparation for war were profitable, and therefore they used all means to foment war scares, to pit government against government. That is why the arms industry was eventually nationalised, but nationalisation has only meant armament business at the state level. This complete nationalisation has certainly liberated governments from the influence of socially irresponsible capitalists bent only on making large profits. So far, so good. But this reform has hardly led anywhere. Armaments made by a state or a capitalist kill equally. The entry of the state into the armaments business has only legalised and justified an abominable thing. The mass of unthinking opinion feels that an official arms industry is respectable. But as a result of arms nationalisation the abolition of war bceomes more difficult. For the state is more powerful than any private employer. Once in business, even governments like to make a profit. All highly industrialised states sell arms to industrially backward states to make profits as well as to control the policies of their customers. This results in rivalry between the industrialised powers and eventually war. The conclusion is that the nationalisation of the arms industry has merely substituted one evil for another. What is needed is the complete abolition of the arms industry. Abolition will come when the majority of people will wish it to come.

All of us, like the arms manufacturers, are in a way "merchants of death", because we vote for governments that support re-armament and practise economic, political and military imperialism. We are all doing our bit for the next war by supporting their policies and by being bad privately. The responsibility of the rich and the powerful is greater than that of ordinary people. The capitalists preach expansionism or imperialism in the interests of their profit, though to the nation its colonies may be unprofitable and actually costly. In all nations such wealthy people tend to be a politically powerful minority. Thus quarrels between the various financial interests become quarrels between states. Oil magnates, for example, frequently endanger the peace of the world. Rich men own the press and thus identify their interest with the national interest. Constantly repeated statements come to be accepted as truths. Innocent and ignorant, the masses equate private interests with public interests and become indignant when these private interests are menaced by a foreign power and demand intervention in the affairs of the foreign state on behalf of the investing minority. The dividends of the few are not worth fighting for.

III. REMEDIES AND ALTERNATIVES

(i) *Existing methods of war prevention.*

The failure of the League of Nations was due to historical accident as well as the wrong principles on which it was organized. In practice and by implication, the League defined a nation eligible for its membership as one which possessed an army—in other words, a society organized for war. Every other definition in terms of race, colour, language, culture or topography was put aside. Thus the League of Nations became a league of societies organised for war.

The means to secure peace, enshrined in the constitution of the League of Nations, were of a military nature—one of them being the application of economic and then military sanctions against an aggressor. If war is objectionable, sanctions are equally objectionable. Military sanctions *are* war. Economic sanctions *must* lead to war or warlike reactions. Sanctionists call their brand of war by the high-sounding name of "collective security"—which simply means a system of military alliances (allies) opposed to another system of military alliances (nominated in advance as the aggressor). Once war has broken out, nations will consult their own interests whether to fight or to remain neutral; they will then not be guided by any international agreement. For example, Anthony Eden said in 1936 that nations "cannot be expected to incur automatic military obligations save for areas where their vital interests are concerned." Upholding the League's Covenant was not regarded as a vital interest by any nation! Article XVI of the League Covenant provided military action for a just settlement of disputes, which was a most unsound principle for an international body. War is radically wrong. Modern war destroys with the maximum of efficiency and the minimum of discrimination. War does not redress injustices.

St. Thomas, a Catholic, has justified war when waged for vital interests of a nation. But the nature of modern war is such that the vital interests of the nation suffer more from the waging of war than from non-resistance to violence. In the circumstances of the present time, therefore, complete pacifism is reasonable, right and even orthodox. The arguments of Thomists and neo-Thomists like Bertrand Russel are based on expediency, and are the same as those of Sanctionists. The Sanctionists' acts inevitably extend a war from local to global proportions. They assert that the display of great military force deters would-be aggressors—"if you want peace, prepare for war". This stupid slogan is not borne out by history. Violence is matched by more violence, a war by a more frightful war. The armament race, thanks to technology and science, is not a monopoly of one nation or a few nations. Even small nations can join in a race of armaments. The Sanctionists demand military action to settle disputes justly. But victors do not behave magnanimously or justly. A war can be followed by just settlement only when amends are made for violence by non-violent acts of justice and humanity in reparation for the ravages of war. That is why in spite of Woodrow Wilson and his Fourteen Points, the Treaty of Versailles (1918) gave rise to Hitler and a Nazi Germany seeking revenge for humiliation and defeat. Thus "the war to end war" is an illusion. Wars do not end war. Wars perpetuate war.

The idea of an international police force is completely misleading. Police action against an individual is radically different from international action against a criminal nation. Punishing a guilty nation can mean only mass killing. To talk of an international police force is a pure deception of the public. A national police force controls traffic, arrests burglars, enforces law and order. An international police force can only be a massacre force. How can an international force be recruited? How officered? How armed? Where located? Who is to decide when it is to be used and against whom? To whom will it owe allegiance and how is its loyalty to be guaranteed? Will nationals help any violent action against their own nation? In what way will the contributions in men and materials be determined? If the contributions are not equal as between all nations, big or small, what is there to prevent a few great powers from dominating? In short, the International Police Force idea combines all the moral and political vices of militarism with the impracticability of a dream. This idea should be strenuously resisted, as also the idea of military sanctions. Any international body must refuse to think in terms of military sanctions. It must accept peaceful settlement as the only method of settling international disputes. It must encourage international co-operation by studying and solving social problems. It must devise means for eliminating the causes of war. It must not have in its constitution an article that sanctions can be applied and military action taken to settle disputes between nations. It must be willing to use the machinery of settlement. A machine may be excellent, but if it is not used or is used badly, it is useless. Machinery of international co-operation is there, but governments of nations must make use of it instead of ignoring it by going to war or threatening war under the false pleas of "national honour" or "vital interests." And this machinery must be used with a good will. Bad will can prevent even the best arbitral machinery from producing a quick settlement. Parties must be willing to use the machinery of settlement and use it as it was meant to be used. A settlement between nations becomes easier if the negotiators are men of integrity and good-sense, for the results of negotiations of men of integrity are acceptable to the majority of people, though assailed by extremists on both sides. For the arbitrator, even more than the negotiator, character is the supreme asset. An international arbitrator must be above suspicion of partiality, corruption and injudiciousness. The machinery of negotiations is of secondary importance; the will, the intelligence and the morality of the people who use the machinery are of supreme importance. Opportunity helps to make the good man as well as the thief. Such institutions as the International Court at the Hague and the United Nations Organisation are invitations and opportunities to use peaceful, desirable methods instead of violent, undesirable methods. If opportunities for behaving badly must be reduced, new opportunities for behaving well must also be created.

All the existing methods of preventing war are intrinsically bad and produce bad results, or else they are ineffective. Military sanctions are example of the former, endless conferences of the latter.

After the Second World War, the Mandate System was not used by the Haves among powers to allay the envy and resentment of the Have-not countries. No colony-owning nation placed a colony under the control of an international body; indeed imperial powers were prepared to shed the last drop of their colonial subjects' blood before yielding a foot of colonial territory. Indeed countries given as mandates to big powers were treated by them as colonies. In fact the great powers maltreated racial and linguistic minorities, and thus gave rise to bad feeling both at home and abroad.

(ii) *Methods which should be used for war prevention and suitable alternatives.*

To transform a community wanting war into a community wanting peace is the job of private individuals, acting alone or in association. The rulers of a nation will never initiate such a reform. A powerful movement against war is bound to be heard.

Peace-time occupations must be made exciting, ennobling and purposeful. Self-government all round will deliver men and women from the humiliation of subordination and the boredom of inactivity. An individual's tasks can be re-arranged. Variety in labour can be introduced. In industry, the psychological results of a variety in labour will be the diminution of boredom and an increase in production.

The apparent pointlessness of modern life in time of peace can be due to the "mechanomorphic" cosmology of modern science—according to which physical life is the only life, that life is heading towards death, and a person should therefore live for success and pleasure. When life is considered hollow and pointless, the void is tried to be filled by external stimuli—newspaper-reading, day-dreaming at the films, radio music and chatter, playing and watching games, in short "good times" of every sort. Those who find life pointless find only a passing relief in war. The initial enthusiasm is succeeded by disillusionment, fatigue and cynicism. When the war is over, the sense of pointlessness becomes a yawning abyss that demands to be filled with even better "good times." Good times are only distractions, not a purpose. Millions of young people embraced nationalism and communism because they found in them a purpose in life, and were consequently ready to make sacrifices, accept hardships, display courage, fortitude and all virtues except the essential and primary virtues. Without the primary virtues, all other virtues merely serve as the means for doing evil. The essential primary virtues are love and awareness. Both nationalism and communism inculcate hatred, pride, hardness and intolerance, cramp intelligence, and narrow the fields of interesting activity. The philosophy of pointlessness is therefore all the more dangerous because it leads to such evils.

The modern world oscillates from neurasthenia (welcoming war as a relief from boredom) to a mania. The cure for both neurasthenia and mania is the inculcation of a real cosmology, of a real philosophy of life.

CHAPTER X

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

Any reform imposed through violence will lead to failure. Non-violent methods of reform can succeed only when a people favour a reform or do not oppose it. History is full of instances of failure of reforms initiated by enlightened kings or autocrats—reforms which were desirable but not desired by the people.

In countries where rulers are chosen by popular vote, there is no chance of novel reforms being initiated by the government. Therefore the movement for reform must start at the periphery and move towards the centre. Private individuals, either alone or in groups, must formulate and popularise any reform before government can be compelled to enact it.

The great obstacle to all desirable change is war. The cardinal reform is therefore a reform in the policy of nations in regard to one another. Rulers will never initiate this reform. Therefore private individuals must persuade the majority of their fellows that the policy of peace is preferable to the policy of war. Only then the national policies based on militarism can be changed. Propaganda for peace by private individuals will alone influence the majority of men and women all over the world who ardently desire peace but do nothing about preventing war.

"All men desire peace, but very few desire those things which make for peace." The voters in every country desire peace, but are not prepared to pay the price of peace. The things that make for peace are disarmament (even unilateral), renunciation of empires, abandonment of the policy of economic nationalism, determination in all circumstances to use the methods of non-violence, systematic training in the methods of non-violence. These things will secure the political ends we all desire, principally the abolition of war as an instrument of national policy, and they will also train individuals in the supreme art of non-attachment.

Individuals can work alone or in association. Indeed the individual's work is preliminary to the work of the association. The individual can undertake intellectual clarification and dissemination by being a theorist. The association can act upon the idea of the individual, by making practical applications of theories, to construct here and now working-models of the better society imagined by the prophets, to train their individual members here and now into specimens of the ideal individuals described by the prophets. If theories produce desirable results, they will gain followers. Example is more convincing than argument. A recommendation for the soundness of a theory is that it actually works.

At almost every period and in almost every country, groups of devoted individuals had worked out for themselves a life superior to that of their contemporaries. Such groups should, if success is desired, be like-minded and prepared to do their share of the work. Such were the Christian and Buddhist monasteries.

In the 19th century many political and religious communities were founded in America. For example, the Community of New Harmony founded by Robert Owen (which failed because of unsuitable collaborators). Another example is the Oneida Community founded by John Humphrey Noyes (which prospered because of suitable membership).

Associations of devoted individuals must be founded for the pursuit of noble ends and in the name of a high ideal. Such a community will demand sacrifices and impose a strict discipline. If the goal is worth achieving, men and women will accept sacrifices and discipline gladly. Even unnecessary and severe hardships may be cheerfully accepted for God's sake (e.g. Trappists). The paradox is that in modern times such hardships are accepted even for the sake of a political ideology.

All over the world and at all times, associations of devoted individuals have held property in common, and have been vowed to personal poverty. Hindu, Buddhist and Christian priests begged their bread, although other communities preferred to work for their living.

People give expression to their feelings of awe and admiration for such communities of devoted individuals by making gifts of property and money to them. In this way great wealth was accumulated by the religious communities. Great wealth is incompatible with non-attachment (whether the beneficiary is an individual or a community). This has led to the fall of many religious communities. If nothing succeeds like success, nothing also fails like success. Adventurous spirits start afresh with great enthusiasm and little money, but when they attain success and wealth, they also fail.

All effective communities are founded upon the principle of unlimited liability which provides a liberal education in responsibility, loyalty and consideration. Raiffeisen of Prussia, in the 19th century, based his system of co-operative agricultural banking on the principle of unlimited liability, and it worked even among an illiterate and poor population.

The economic conditions of effective community living would thus seem to be as follows. (1) Groups must accept the principle of unlimited liability. (2) Individual members should possess nothing as individuals and everything as a community. (3) Property and income should not be so large as to become ends in themselves, nor also so small that the community has always to worry about its existence and daily necessities.

The disciplinary systems of associations of devoted individuals have differed radically (e.g. the Society of Jesus founded by Ignatius Loyola and the Society of Friends founded by Quakers). Loyola's famous letter on obedience is written in the spirit of the Higher Militarism. The Society of Jesus he organised was based on military principles. "Theirs is not to reason why, theirs but to do and die." This doctrine so dear to the militarist was reaffirmed by Loyola. According to him, the "sacrifice of the Intellect" is the highest grade of obedience, particularly pleasing to God (the inferior must accept his superior as in the place of God).

The Society of Friends, on the other hand, believed in the complete democracy of a Quaker committee. A Quaker committee discusses proposals until unanimity is reached, and only then the resolutions are put to vote.

Between the Higher Militarism of Loyola and the complete democracy of Quakers lies the constitutional monarchy of Benedictine monasticism. A monk of St. Benedict's order believes in discretion all round. His time is discreetly divided between practical work and devotion. He is discreetly clothed and discreetly fed—not too well, but also not too ill. His life is discreetly ascetic. The abbot of the monastery is absolute, but he must consult all the monks in important matters, and a committee of monks in smaller matters. The abbot thus reigns, not rules. His reign is a reign of law, and the abbot is not considered as in the place of God.

Loyola accepted the idea of non-attachment, but he was wrong in the adoption of the Higher Militarism. Non-attachment is valueless unless it is the non-attachment of a responsible individual. The Jesuit individual is like a corpse; a corpse is not malignant or ambitious or lustful, but it cannot practise non-attachment. If we believe in the value of non-attachment, we must avoid the Higher Militarism. We must devise a system which will be efficient as well as educative. The constitutionalism of St. Benedict's order is more educative than Loyola's totalitarianism. Quaker democracy is better than the constitutionalism of St. Benedict's order.

At all times and in all places, communities have been formed according to religious ideas. Such communities have insisted on ceremonial acts of devotion and spiritual exercises. The object of spiritual exercises was to make use of them as a means of spiritual insight into ultimate reality and for the purpose of purifying, directing and strengthening the will. The psychological nature and the spiritual and educational values of the right kind of spiritual exercises are undisputed. The best spiritual exercises, properly used, strengthen and direct the will, and heighten and enlarge the consciousness, Such exercises were understood and followed by certain, Christian, Hindu and Buddhist mystics.

Many communities have sought salvation only for their members, and only prayed for the world. Their members provided the people in general with an example of piety and purposeful living, but beyond this they did not tackle the problems around them. Such were many Hindu and Buddhist communities.

Certain communities spread education through schools attached to them. The majority of Christian communities have always believed in practical work as well as devotion—some gave more time to devotion, some more to work. In this way monasteries in their practical capacity have been a civilising influence. By their practical work they have made contributions to agriculture, education, medicine and welfare. Such work is now done by the state or secular organisations. The monasteries did this work at a time when no one else was willing or able to do it. It is therefore the function of an association of devoted individuals to undertake tasks which clear-sighted people perceive to be necessary, but which nobody else is willing to perform.

Effective associations of devoted individuals should consist of selected individuals united in a common belief and by fidelity to a shared ideal. They should hold property and income in common on a principle of unlimited liability for each and all. They must observe educative discipline in a democratic way. They should undertake practical work in addition to study and devotion, and this practical work should be of a kind which other social agencies, public or private, are either unable or unwilling to perform.

All of us desire a better state of society. But society cannot become better before, firstly, peace is established firmly, and, secondly, the prevailing obsession with money and power is profoundly modified.

To tend the sick, to relieve the poor, to teach without charge—these tasks are now being performed efficiently by other agencies. It was right that they were undertaken by associations of devoted individuals when nobody else was prepared to do so. They should now instead use the energy of their devotion to break the new ground that nobody else will break.

One task is to disseminate truths by translating theory into practice—by creating small working-models of the better society we desire. Our present society is based on power, success and position, all of which lead to evils, when abused. An association of devoted individuals could create a working-model of a society unobsessed by the lust for power and success and hence living in peace.

All men desire peace, but very few desire those things that make for peace. The thing that makes for peace above all others is the systematic practice, in all human relationships, of non-violence.

The case for non-violence vis-a-vis violence is clear. If violence is answered by violence, the result is a physical struggle. For victory in a physical struggle, all scruples and civilised habits are thrown to the winds. When victory comes, it bears no relation to the rights and wrongs of the cause for which violence was done.

In most cases, victory in a war provides no lasting settlement. Victory in a war may provide a lasting settlement in some cases: (1) If the vanquished are exterminated. Complete extermination is unlikely, because populations are very large in modern times. There will always be survivors who will wage another war to wipe out the dishonour of defeat. One war will therefore beget another and so on. (2) Where the fighting forces are small and the rival populations are left unembittered and unharmed. Today entire populations are liable to be involved in battles and their consequences. (3) Where the victors settle down among the vanquished as a ruling minority and are in due course absorbed by them. This does not happen in the modern world. (4) If the victors make acts of reparation to the vanquished. This would amount to application of non-violence. It is better to apply the principles of non-violence before war as a substitute for a physical conflict. Non-violence can prove its value pragmatically, by working. It works in private life. Anger feeds upon answering anger, but is disarmed by gentleness and patience. The answer to meanness is magnanimity. Violence makes men worse, non-violence makes them better. To be non-violent, one has to practise self-control, be morally and physically brave, have no anger and malice, and have good will, understanding and sympathy. Hence the code of good manners in casual social life.

Exeptional men, and even ordinary people, have demonstrated in the course of history the power of non-violence to overcome evil, to turn aside anger and hatred; for example, missionaries, administrators, passive resisters and conscientious objectors. The principles of non-violence are of value in solving even social and medical problems, like the problems of the insane and the criminal. Treatment of the insane is now based more and more upon kindness and intelligent sympathy, less and less upon harshness and restraint. Organised non-violence has paid dividends in reform of asylums and prisons, where the movement has been in the direction of greater humaneness. The old notion of retaliatory punishment is slowly dying. Even the colonial administrator and the anthropologist have discovered that organised and intelligent non-violence is the best and the most practical policy in dealing with backward peoples or tribes.

Thus the power of non-violence in the relations of individuals with individuals is very great. The same is also true about mass movements. Violent revolution does not achieve the desirable results aimed at; indeed the opposite results. One of the greatest examples of non-violent popular revolution is Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha movement in South Africa and India, and both succeeded completely. Gandhi suspended the activities of his non-violent army whenever his followers took to violence. Non-violent resistance and non-co-operation have been successfully used elsewhere also. From 1901 to 1905 the people of Finland non-violently resisted Russian oppression, and in 1905 compelled the Russians to repeal the law of conscription. In 1848 in Hungary, Kossuth led a violent revolution against Austrian rule without real success, but the Hungarians under Deak campaigned non-violently until 1867 and the Austrian government was compelled to restore the Hungarian constitution. The Catholics offered non-violent resistance against Bismarck.

A special form of non-co-operation is the boycott which has been used effectively on a number of occasions. Boycott was used by the Persians against the tobacco monopoly, by the Chinese and the Indians against British goods. In 1920 the British Labour movement averted war with Russia by warning Lloyd George that a complete boycott would follow if he went to war. These examples prove that if people so desire and act with determination, they can prevent their government from going to war, and that people, to be successful, must be trained to use their will. To create and reinforce that will is the task of devoted individuals, of whom one of the most shining examples is Mahatma Gandhi. Thus we see that the use of non-violence is effective also in the relations of whole populations with governments.

The use of non-violence in the relations of governments with other governments can also be effective. Because the world sanctions two systems of morality—one for private individuals, another for nations—because the nation is personified in our imaginations as a being superhuman in power and glory but sub-human in morality, governments never expect to behave in any but the most discreditable way. The traditions of politics are thoroughly dishonourable. The examples of non-violent behaviour between governments are rare excepting disputes where fighting is not considered worth while. Whenever big issues are at stake, national egotism is allowed free rein and the machinery of conciliation is not used at all or used with bad will. In European history there is only one example of the completely non-violent settlement of a major dispute between two governments. In 1814 Norway was invaded by Sweden, but negotiations resulted in the union of the two countries "not by force of arms, but by free conviction" (so said the Act of Union). In 1904 the Union was dissolved by Norway with the consent of Sweden. The peaceful transfer of power in India in 1947 by the Labour Government of Clement Atlee is also an example of non-violent behaviour.

Thus we see that non-violence is practically effective between individuals and individuals, between populations and governments, and between governments and governments.

Devoted individuals, either alone or in association, should help in the cultivation of non-violent behaviour in all the relationships of life—personal, economic, governmental and cultural. The individuals should be trained against power-seeking, bullying, fear, rapacity, anger and hatred. Systematic training is required for non-violent resistance to violent oppression. Trained individuals can hold up to society a working-model of a superior group organisation, and they can go out into the world as missionaries of non-violence committed to allaying violence and organising non-violent resistance to oppression and war. Groups of war-resisters, when large and unanimous, can prevent their governments from going to war. They may have less influence when a war is represented by government as a war of defence, a war to save democracy, a war against tyranny, a war to end war, but resistance to war under any circumstances must be adopted if we want real progress. Any so-called desirable change must be tested on the basis of its means (whether violent or non-violent).

Many devoted individuals have, instead of solving the economic problems of our time, run away from them. Indeed they have tried to go backwards. The problems of modern industry and finance cannot be solved by getting rid of machinery. A return to horses and handicrafts (as in Butler's Erewhon) is not practicable, because it would only mean a return to primitiveness. Machine production and technological advance cannot be abolished; they are here to stay, particularly in view of the tremendous increase in populations everywhere. The question is whether the wealth created by them is to stay as an instrument of slavery or as a way to freedom. The wealth created by machine production should be distributed in such a way as to secure the maximum of social justice.

If associations of devoted individuals are to be useful, they must go about their business in the most scientific and the most unprimitive way possible. Scientific methods must be combined with good intentions and devotion. Neither goodness nor intelligence by themselves can change society for the better. To good intentions and personal devotion must be added knowledge and organisation. There have been good men and saints at all times and in all countries, but they have failed to point the path for real progress, because they have been stupid or ignorant.

Scientific methods cannot be applied to machines, to workers, to organising business, without capital. Associations of devoted individuals cannot do much good unless they command considerable capital without which satisfactory solutions or building up working-models of a satisfactory society are not possible. The fact of capital is unfortunate, but it cannot be otherwise. Associations of devoted individuals having secured capital, made its investment and embarked on production have to work out, by practical experiment, solutions of such problems as: (i) combining self-government with technical efficiency, (ii) eliminating boredom among individuals by varying their labours, (iii) equitably disposing of the wealth created by machine production, (iv) investing superfluous wealth, (v) using individual gifts and inclinations suitably, (vi) using leisure in the best way, (vii) developing community life in the best form, (viii) finding the best form of education for adults, (ix) finding the best form of government of the people by the people and for the people, (x) using the gifts of leadership without lust for power.

CHAPTER XI

INEQUALITY

If there is to be intelligent co-operation between all members of a society, the gulf between the rich and the poor must be made as narrow as possible. To obtain complete equality of income for all is impossible and perhaps undesirable. Even capitalism admits now the principle not only of the minimum but also of the maximum wage. It is generally agreed that there are limits beyond which incomes and accumulations of wealth ought not to go. The principle of the limitation of wealth has come to stay.

What should be the maximum wage? What is the relation between income and happiness? Increase of income tends to result in increase of personal satisfaction up to a limit, beyond which it degenerates into lust. Non-attachment is difficult or impossible in both cases of extreme wealth or extreme poverty, and therefore both are undesirable. The problem of the maximum wage can also be posed as follows: how much does an individual require in order to live in the highest state of physical and intellectual efficiency? The degree of economic inequality is not the same in all countries. What is the degree of economic inequality that should be allowed to exist in any community? There can be no universally valid answer. But no society can progress with economic disparity. Highest incomes should not be more than ten to thirty times as great as the lowest (in proportion to the minimum wages being low or high).

Economic inequality is not the only kind of inequality. The mental inequality between individuals is more formidable and less remediable. The universes of two individuals may be very dissimilar even though their incomes may be equal. Nature as well as nurture has set great gulfs between individuals, some of which are unbridgeable.

Hippocrates classified men according to the predominance of one or other of the four humours, and his theory dominated European medicine for 2000 years. The astrologers classified men in terms of planetary types, e.g. mercurial, saturnine. Aristotle, in a treatise on physiognomy, classified men in terms of the supposed characteristics of the animals they resemble, Modern classifications are in terms of "linear," and "lateral" types, or in terms of "somatotonic," "viscerotonic" and "cerebrotonic" types.

There have been fashions in temperaments just as in clothes. Voltaire admired the phlegmatic temperament (naturally cautious, thoughtful, not easily moved). Rousseau admired the sanguine temperament (sentimentality for the sake of sentimentality, hot passion and wet tears). Byron admired a mixture of sanguine and melancholy (warm and moist allied with cold and dry). In more modern times, the change is to choleric temperament (pushful, energetic). All the temperaments exist and something can be made of each of them. In our intolerant ignorance we demand that people should conform to a certain temperament which may be in current fashion. The fashionable temperament may be incompatible with the psychological type.

All men and women are of mixed types. The amount of mixing may be small or great. Where it is small, the gulf between individuals is great. Human beings may be separated psychologically from one another, but it is always possible for them to break the natural or acquired divisions by effort. Bridge-building between individuals will be easier in communities where self-government is applied, where responsible group life is intense, and where inequalities of income and education are small. Any ism not based on these essentials will create new artificial inequalities.

Reciprocal good behaviour (that is, equality of action) is not possible without mass human contacts of a responsible and co-operative nature. The tendency for birds of a feather to flock together, the tendency for exclusiveness, should be checked. A human being can be a member of many groups simultaneously. Good can result from his direct relations with other human beings; only evil can flow from exclusiveness or from the imagined membership of a theoretical society in the abstract. The claims of an abstract society are the claims of a coterie. We should talk more about the rights and duties of individuals and groups of individuals, rather than of society as a whole.

Among human beings, the first problem to see is that round and square pegs get into the holes that fit them. The second problem is to prevent the born leader from exploiting.

Bad leadership is undesirable at any social level. Big tyranny breeds small tyranny. We must beware of both madness and imbecility, for both are equally disastrous for the leaders as well as the led. Madness gives rise to dictators and tyrants. Imbeciles rise to power either by hereditary right or by the back door. Powerful interests desire to have an imbecile in office. The hereditary principle has been abolished at many levels. The chances of getting imbecile leaders could be lessened by applying to politicians tests for intellectual, physical and moral fitness (just as in the case of candidates for jobs). We must demand a "character," a certificate from our leaders. We must not entrust the direction of affairs to men without character, scruples, temperance, understanding, ability and education. By applying these tests we can filter out of our public life much of self-satisfied stupidity, senile incompetence and downright dishonesty.

To guard against the mad leader is more difficult than to guard against the half-wit or the petty crook. Political and legal checks in a constitution are effective up to a certain point. Legal checks and balances are institutionalised mistrust, and mistrust can never be an adequate foundation for social life. If people do not want to play the game, no amount of surveillance will do. An examination system would rid our business and politics of imbeciles and crooks, but not the man of ambition. Something more is needed than examinations. A chartered self-governing union of professionals (like Chartered Accountants), with rules and responsibilities, could be a powerful social machinery for weeding out the mad man of ambition. Leadership must be made expert and responsible, in a word chartered. The praise and blame of fellow professionals can be a great social force against unscrupulousness, raise the standard of political and economic direction, and check ambitious men from exceeding due bounds. Both the examination system and the chartered professional organisation are universally known and respected; so it is easier to extend their application. They can minimise the social dangers inherent in individual inequality.

Vidya Bhavan
Acc No........
Date.........
Jammu.

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATION

A man is affected, not only by his past, but also by his present and what he foresees of the future. The conditioning process which takes place during childhood is re-conditioned by the circumstances of adolescent and adult life. This re-conditioning after childhood may be in a desirable direction or in an undesirable direction according to man's will. The conditioning of childhood received in nursery schools is on the whole excellent. That which is received in advanced schools is generally bad. The bad conditioning during adolescence neutralises the good conditioning of childhood. In his *Anatomy of Frustration*, H. G. Wells makes his hero comment upon the distressing difference between "the charm, the alert intelligence, the fearless freedom of the modern child of six or seven and the slouching mental futility of the ordinary youth in his later teens." We educate young children for freedom, intelligence, responsibility and voluntary co-operation. On the other hand, we educate older children for passive acceptance of tradition and for either dominance or subordination. There is uncertainty of purpose in the education of our children.

Children, however, should not be given more freedom than they can profitably deal with, more responsibility than they desire or know how to take. To give children too much freedom and responsibility is imposing a distressing and even exhausting strain on them. Children like to have security and like to feel the support of a firm framework of moral laws and even rules of polite conduct. Within such a framework there is plenty of room for a training in independence, responsibility and co-operation. The important thing is to avoid extremes—the extreme of too much liberty and responsibility, and the extreme of too much restriction of the wrong sort. Children may derive a sense of security from the moral code of militarism as well as from the moral code of non-attachment. The result of an upbringing in the ethic of non-attachment will be very different from the results of an upbringing in a code of militarism.

Practical life is the most efficient of all teachers. Young people will readjust themselves to the circumstances of life. Adolescents may be trained for self-government, but they will easily adjust themselves into a success-worshipping hierarchical society which shows that life is a whole, that desirable changes in one department will not produce good results unless accompanied by desirable changes in all other departments of life.

A good education is not an infallible cure for all our ills. It can become a cure only when it is associated with good conditions in all departments of life. It is a question of action and reaction, not a question of simple cause and effect. Good education and good social conditions all round are inseparable. The problem of reform is to replace the vicious circle by the virtuous circle.

Let us consider the physiological education of infancy. Dr. Suttie in his *The Origins of Love and Hatred* has shown that our emotional life would be more serene if our house-training in cleanliness had not started in infancy. According to him, messy children are a nuisance, but do not put a taboo on tenderness and allow them to make their messes.

Then comes the moral and intellectual education of later childhood, both of which are inseparable. In his *Which Way to Peace?* Bertrand Russel has said that "a ridiculously subservient behaviour towards teachers and passive rather than active methods of acquiring knowledge" is like "a method of producing a militaristic mentality, at once obedient and domineering, cowardly and brutal", and that "the despots agree with the advocates of modern education as regards the connection between discipline in schools and the love of war in later life". Dr. Maria Montessori has also said: "The child who has never learned to act alone, to direct his own actions, to govern his own will, grows into an adult who is easily led and must always lean upon others. . . The obedience which is expected of a child both in the home and in the school prepares the man to be docile to blind forces. The punishment which consists in subjecting the culprit to public reprimand fills the soul with a crazy, unreasoning fear of public opinion. . . In the midst of these adaptations . . . which set up a permanent inferiority complex, is born the spirit of devotion—not to say of idolatry—to the condottieri, the leaders". The inferiority complex gives rise to brutality and cruelty. The traditional education is a training for life in a hierarchical, militaristic society in which people are abjectly obedient to their superiors and inhuman to their inferiors. Each slave "takes it out of" the slave below. Our aim should be to train up human beings for freedom, for justice, for peace.

The intensification of militarism and nationalism, the rise of dictatorships and the spread of authoritarian rule at the expense of democratic government are phenomena which can be traced to the wrong type of moral and intellectual education of our childhood. Of late, state schools have sprung up, with strict and authoritarian discipline. In certain classes of society in certain periods, family discipline was very strict, for example the families of the Puritans, the Romans or the Japanese Samurai. Samurai and Roman discipline had the same end in view, viz., to train people to become good soldiers. The Puritan discipline had a religious end in view; the Puritan was breaking his children's will because St. Augustine and Calvin had said that will was essentially evil. Thus the results of the Puritan's education of his children were the same as those of a Roman and the Samurai. The Puritan children became good soldiers in time of war, and in peace ruthless men of business.

The members of the middle and upper classes undergo a longer period of education than the poor. That is why the middle and upper classes are more bellicose, war-like, than the poor. Any one brought up under a long period of authoritarian discipline will be more militaristically minded. The decline of democracy has coincided with the rise to manhood and political power of the educated proletariat.

Universal primary and secondary education which should have made the world safe for democracy, has on the contrary prepared the world for dictatorships and war. Our goal is liberty and democracy, but if we teach people the arts of bullying and passive obedience (instead of the arts of being free and governing themselves), we cannot hope for success. Good things cannot be achieved by inappropriate means.

Thus we see that there are two types of education—education for freedom and responsibility, and education for bullying and subordination. Nursery schools belong to the first, most other schools to the second. In totalitarian countries even nursery schools belong to the second.

Discipline is not the only instrument of character training. Sport or play is another. Like everything else, sport can be used for good or for evil. Used well, it can teach endurance and courage, a sense of fairplay and respect for rules, co-ordinated effort and the subordination of personal interests. Used badly, it can encourage personal vanity and group vanity, greedy desire for victory and hatred for rivals, a spirit of intolerance and contempt for people who are below a certain standard. Used well, sport inculcates responsible co-operation, but when used badly the co-operation is for undesirable ends and the result is an increase of individual attachment. When the co-operation inculcated by sport is used well, non-attachment is the result. Thus sport can be a trainer either of warmongers or of peace-lovers. The totalitarian states consider sport as a preparation for war, and an instrument of national propaganda, though theoretically sport is considered as a bond between nations. In the democratic countries there are two opinions about the end of sport. One opinion considers sport to some extent as a training for militarists: "the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton". The other opinion considers sport as a training for decency, or in other words, non-attachment. We cannot afford to be of two minds. Either we must make use of sport as a school for non-attachment or as a school for winning future Waterloos.

As human beings are of different types, should there be several systems of character-training? The answer is at once Yes and No. But we must remember that character-training is a continuous process and its media are many.

Education as Instruction assumes two forms—academic (or liberal) education and technical education. Academic education is supposed to develop the faculties of the human mind from the power of logical analysis to aesthetic appreciation and to provide a historical, logical, physical, chemical, biological background. Technical education aims merely at practical results and is supposed to give people proficiency in some trade or profession.

A large number of young people are unable to derive much profit from academic education. This may be due to defects in our teaching system or teachers; the majority of teachers do not know the art of teaching. Teaching is an art, not a science. Those who go through a course of academic education emerge as parrots without understanding, or as specialists knowing everything about one subject and taking no interest in anything else, or as intellectuals knowing everything only in theory and therefore impractical. Similarly the pupils of technical schools come out expert in their particular job but ignorant about everything else.

There are different types of men interested in intellectual activity or muscular activity; men are gifted with different talents, and men have different degrees of intelligence. So we must attempt to give to each man the education best calculated to develop his capacities to the utmost.

A single casual examination does not provide the best test of a person's ability. It is being given up in favour of a series of periodical tests of knowledge and intelligence and tutorial reports over a span of years. Both the existing kinds of education, technical and academic, should be so amended that the technical may become more liberal, and the academic more practical. A liberal education provides a framework of logical and factual reference mainly about the material universe. A course of liberal education can produce a parrot, or an efficient specialist, or an intellectual. If a parrot, the object has failed. If an efficient specialist, the object can be said to be partially successful. If an intellectual, the object is said to be successful. The parrot repeats, but does not understand. The narrow specialist understands only his speciality. The accomplished intellectual knows only theoretically and has no desire to act upon his knowledge nor has he the necessary training in such action.

If the pupils of an academic or liberal education have a framework of reference for integration, the pupils of a technical education have no principle of integration. They are taught a job and no more. They therefore emerge into the world wholly unprepared to deal in an intelligent way with the facts of experience. Because they have no framework of reference for integration, they cannot correlate the facts of life, and therefore the web of understanding is lacking. Bits of information exist for the technically educated man, in isolation, not as parts of one vast continuum. The successful product of a technical education is therefore as unsatisfactory as the successful product of an academic education. Can technical education be liberalised in terms of general knowledge and a principle of integration? The majority of technical people are incapable of using the principle of integration. Even from a liberal education very few intellectuals emerge who can integrate the facts of the material universe. Few are infected with the desire to possess knowledge and integrate it.

The framework of knowledge into which the intellectual fits his experience is the framework of the natural sciences and of history treated as a natural science. The intellectual produced by a liberal education is involved with the world only cognitively, not affectively, nor conatively. He is preoccupied with the material universe and with humanity as a part of the material universe. On the rare occasions when the intellectual does become affectively and conatively involved with the world of human reality, he exhibits an impatience which degenerates into ruthlessness. Thinking of human beings scientifically as parts of the material universe, he handles them as other parts of the material universe are handled—dumped here like coal or sand, made to flow there like water, liquidated like ice over fire. The word "political liquidation" has become the trade mark of impatient and ruthless intellectuals upon whose theories the mad men of the world have acted.

Technical education is altogether without a principle of integration. Academic education integrates only on the cognitive plane, only in terms of a natural science preoccupied with the laws of the material universe. What is needed is another principle of integration that will co-ordinate specialised or professional knowledge, that will transform intellectuals from mere spectators of the human scene into intelligent participants. The nature of this new principle of integration should be psychological and ethical. Within the new framework of reference and the principle of integration, co-ordination of knowledge and experience should be made in human terms, the network of significant relationships should be not indifferent to values but moral, not merely cognitive but also affective and conative.

Some would like technical education to be liberalised by leading the pupil from the practical and the particular to the general. In practice this does not work. A pupil of technical education will be interested in the job and just as much theory as necessary for his job; he will not be interested in general theory; he will have neither the wish nor the ability to integrate his experience and his knowledge. The practical man rarely develops into the scientist. The advances in scientific theory have been made by men who were not professionals but who looked at technical problems as outsiders and then proceeded to generalise and rationalise what was merely particular and empirical. There is an unbridgeable gulf between the practical man and the man of science.

Whatever their type or the degree of their ability, all men are, however, interested in the subject of Man. All are interested in human affairs, very few in the laws of the material universe. Specialised education can best be liberalised in terms of human affairs. Any specialised technical course could be accompanied by a course explaining the good and evil of a technique. Next, the broad social effects of a technique could be studied. In these and similar ways a complete network of relationships could be created in the student's mind, a network binding together things seemingly as irrelevant to one another as viscose fibres and the ruin of farmers, atomic energy and the slaughter of men. A similar frame of psychological, sociological and ethical reference could be used to supplement the frame of scientific reference used in academic education. Both liberal and technical educations could, by a principle of integration, be made liberal in the academic sense and also in the practical sense. It would be hard to receive such an integrated education and not emerge with a wider range of sympathy, a keener desire to act.

The work of Dr. Montessori for children is well-known. But the applications of Montessori principles have been made in an un-Montessorian context. Take the English Public Schools. The pupils of such Public Schools are in a measure self-governing, but unhappily the rules, customs and loyalties are those of a hierarchical, competitive, imperialistic society. Therefore such training in self-government and self-teaching as the young people receive serves to make them more efficient and enterprising members of an undesirable society. Self-government has been adopted even in schools of military training, and the training is self-teaching in the sense that a modern soldier must know not only how to die, but also the technique of survival from the operations of modern war. But the self-governing and self-teaching soldier equally with the self-governing and self-teaching schoolboy is not being trained for freedom and justice.

After the First World War, an attempt was made to enlarge the scope and humanise the character of academic education, at Antioch College, U.S.A., by Dr. A. E. Morgan. Under his educational system, periods of study were alternated with periods of labour in the factory, the office, the farm, even the prison and the asylum. Three months of theory were supplemented by three months of practice. The intellectual was taught to make use of a framework of human reference as well as of natural, scientific and historical reference—and taught in terms of physical contact with actual samples of human reality. Dr. Morgan's principle of integration was thus cognitive, conative and affective, thanks to many kinds of practical work.

Systems of education like that of Dr. A. E. Morgan are the modern extensions and systematisations of the traditional Hebrew system of education. The *Talmud* says: "He who does not teach his son a trade virtually teaches him to steal". St. Paul was a scholar as well as a tent-maker. The idea of a scholar and the gentleman arose among the slave-owning philosophers of Athens and Ionia. The modern world has taken over from the Hebrews all that was worst in their cultural heritage—their ferocious literature, their paeans in praise of war, their tales of divinely inspired slaughter and sanctified treachery, their primitive belief in a personal, despotic and passionately unscrupulous God, their low Samuel-Smilesian notion that virtue deserves a reward in cash and social position. We have, however, rejected the good Hebrew tradition of an all-round education—at once academic and technical.

Emotions can be educated through the arts. Music, drama, poetry, painting and sculpture can widen consciousness and give a desirable direction to the flow of emotion. A work of art makes it possible for us to know, if only imperfectly and for a little while, what it actually feels like to think subtly and feel nobly. More people are able to participate in the experience of the music-maker than in the experience of the painter, the architect or the imaginative writer. That is why the finest works of art are our most precious and priceless heritage. Singing and playing instruments together, people learn to co-operate mentally and physically in a unity of shared emotion.

Acting and watching of plays can also be used for the purpose of emotional training. But drama in its present form does not possess educative virtues. In the modern play or film there is no Aristotelian catharsis. A Greek tragedy was more than a play, it was also a religious service; it was an illustration of the scriptures, an exposition of theology. Modern dramas are essentially secular. People go to modern dramas, not in order to be reminded of their philosophy of life, not to establish some kind of communion with their gods, but merely to get a kick, merely to titillate their feelings. For the Greeks dramatic festivals were solemn and rare. For modern people they are a daily stimulant. Abused, as we abuse it at present, dramatic art is merely a form of emotional masturbation, not of catharsis or purging of emotions. All arts can be used, but abuse of drama is the worst form of artistic debauchery. For example, acting is one of the most dangerous trades; the player's character is affected for the worse by the practice of his trade. No one can remain untouched by self-exhibitionism and hypnotic power. Acting inflames the ego in a tremendous way. It seems a high price to pay for our amusements if we cannot remain unattached.

The chief educative virtue of literature consists in its power to provide its readers with examples which they can follow. To some extent, all human beings are "bovaristic"—that is, they see themselves as they are not. Madame Bovary, the heroine of Klaubert's novel, came to a tragic end, but all bovaristic behaviour is not going to end in disaster. There is good bovarism as well as bad bovarism. Literary models to be imitated in real life are mythical, historical or fictional. Great numbers of human beings have tried to pattern themselves on their literary heroes and heroines. Literary art, which is the vehicle of literary models, must be of a very high order if the readers are to be impressed and therefore to act upon them. Hence the importance of good art (even in ethical instruction). Every generation must produce its stock of imitable models. Old good art can never have the same appeal as new good art; indeed old good art takes second place even before new bad art. Today more people bovarise themselves upon the models provided by the magazines than upon those provided by masters of literature. One reason for this is that magazines deal with contemporary characters, another reason is that moral effort is required to imitate great good heroes. Magazine stories are about common and easy day-dreams—dreams of sex, financial success and social recognition. But even masters of good literature have seldom produced non-attached characters; their plays and novels have good characters, but they are not complete.

In history, good men, but unintelligent, have attained to sainthood. We must admire such people, but they are incomplete, not fully adult. Perfect non-attachment demands not only compassion and charity, but also intelligence and awareness. Buddhism is superior to Christianity in this respect. In Buddhism, stupidity or unawareness ranks as one of the major sins. Buddhism warns people that they are responsible for the social order in which they find themselves. Among the Eightfold Path of Buddha is the right means of livelihood. Christian moralists do not insist upon the right means of livelihood. The Christian church allows people to believe that they can be good Christians and yet be imperialists, yet participate in war, yet indulge in anti-social speculation. All that is required of the good Christian is chastity and a modicum of charity in personal relations. An intelligent understanding and appraisal of the long-range consequences of acts is not insisted upon by Christian moralists. In the Middle Ages the Christian church tried to moralise even economic activity, an attempt which was abandoned after the Reformation. (Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* is readable in this connection.)

Literary example is a powerful instrument for the moulding of character. But most of our literary examples are idealisations of the average sensual man. Of the more heroic characters, the majority are ambitious, paranoiac. The others are good but without intelligence, virtuous but without seeing the need of changing the bad system in which they live. Literature does not give complete examples of non-attachment because literary artists, even when they are revolutionaries, are educated in the old way and think in terms of values accepted by the militaristic society of which they are members. Hence the urgency of a proper education in the real values of life.

What is needed is intelligently directed will. Educationists should do all they can to build up in the minds of all people a habit of resistance to suggestion so that men and women will not be at the mercy of any skilful propagandist.

Resistance to suggestion can be built up in two ways.

Firstly, children in particular and the people in general can be taught not to depend upon external stimulation which is bad for the character. Such stimulation is the jam in which dictators conceal their ideological pills. For a majority of people, purposeless reading, purposeless listening-in, purposeless looking at films have become addictions like alcoholism. They suffer real distress if they are cut off even for some time from their newspapers, radio music, moving pictures. Like the addict to a drug they have to indulge their vice. They are happy when they bathe in sensational news of murder and slaughter, in cheap radio music, in the erotic vulgarisms of the films. Even intelligent people consider such psychological addictions as inevitable and even desirable. The majority of people have become incapable of living on their own internal spiritual resources. This is not the way to escape from boredom and to increase human happiness and intelligence. The children should be taught to rely upon their own spiritual resources and resist the temptation to become reading-addicts, hearing-addicts, seeing-addicts. They can be taught to entertain themselves—by making things, by playing musical instruments, by purposeful study, by scientific observation, by the practice of some art, and so on. But psychology has also a Gresham's law. Bad ideas drive away good ideas, just as bad money drives out good money. The will to use the necessary knowledge and skill, even under the pressure of an incessant temptation to take the line of least resistance, is required. Most people will not resist unless they have a coherent philosophy of life. To see and approve the better is useless, if one then regularly proceeds to pursue the worse. People must act upon their convictions.

Secondly, people can be trained to subject the devices of propagandists to critical analysis. Words currently used must be analysed. What does nation mean? Has a nation a will? Is the will of the nation the will of the entire population? All personifications, all metaphors and all abstractions must be examined. We must learn to translate empty words into terms of concrete contemporary reality. We must learn to translate noble verbiage into the language of the present. Here are two typical examples of noble verbiage:

(i) "We shall not sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn."

(ii) "The word is the instrument of God for the protection of the people."

There is also a kind of propaganda which consists in arbitrarily associating the idea which is to be suggested, with some delightful or pleasant object, image, sound or literary description. For example, the advertiser of soap will show the picture of a voluptuous young girl taking a bath. The aim is to associate the idea of goods offered for sale with ideas which the public delights in, like the ideas of erotic pleasure, personal charm, wealth and social superiority. The idea of merchandise is similarly associated with delightful landscapes, funny or pathetic children, flowers, pet animals, and scenes of family life. Radio advertising goes a step further by associating ideas of merchandise with performances of comedians or concerts of music. Apart from the sellers of merchandise, even kings, dictators, generals and priests have associated the idea of their governance with magnificent pageantry, impressive architecture, rare and beautiful things. A military pageant, accompanied by music, intoxicates like wine. Hence also the organised joy, the organised terror and the organised mystery of priests. Propaganda of this kind generally proves irresistible. We must be trained to dissociate ideas from pageants or good things, whether in business or in politics or in religion. We must learn to analyse every idea critically. We may use a thing or participate in a pageant without allowing our enjoyment to influence our judgment regarding the real values. We must judge everything on ethical merits, and not on outward considerations. The rulers will always desire to preserve a given order of things which we have seen is a bad order. The art of dissociation of ideas from symbols can be taught only by individuals, and such individuals whom no power on earth can cajole or bribe. Such individual educators can use their blessed independence to make a desirable change which the state or state-controlled people will not initiate.

Education is therefore character-training, instruction, and also training of the emotions. It is also body-training. What happens in the mind affects the body, and the body affects the mind. Therefore both mental and physical education are required. Let us consider the nature of this physical training. We are agreed that all education must aim at producing non-attachment. To find out the best form of physical training, we must understand the physical conditions of non-attachment. Non-attachment is hardly realisable by any one whose body is maladjusted. Physical pain or strains set up psychological strains. A maladjusted body affects the mind in several ways; the many jaundiced views of the world are due to it. All the Eastern mystics are insistent on the necessity of bodily health. A sick man, a man in pain, cannot attain enlightenment, cannot acquire the art of contemplation. There must therefore be rules of diet and exercise. The ideal system of physical education must relieve maladjustment and strain. Another object of physical education should be to teach voluntary physical awareness (awareness is a condition of non-attachment). The body must be trained to think in an integrated way. A still another object of good physical education must be to learn the art of conscious inhibition. There can be no non-attachment without inhibition. The technique of inhibition needs to be learnt on all the planes of our being. On the intellectual plane, we must inhibit irrelevant thoughts; on the emotional plane, we must check malice and vanity, lust and sloth, avarice, anger and fear; on the physical plane, we must learn to inhibit our tendency to perform actions in the maladjusted way. Mind and body are organically one. If we learn physical inhibition, we will surely acquire emotional and intellectual inhibition. What is needed is a practical morality working at every level. A good physical education will supply the body with just such a practical morality. It will be a curative morality, a morality of inhibitions, a morality of conscious control, a system of preventive ethics *via* proper integration by promotion of health. Such a good physical education will forestall many kinds of trouble. Such a system has been developed by F. M. Alexander whose books *Man's Supreme Achievement, Creative Conscious Control* and *The Use of the Self* have been prefaced by John Dewey. It gives us all the things we have been looking for in a system of physical education: relief from maladjustment, increased consciousness and a technique of inhibition. We must prevent the body and the mind from slipping back, under the influence of greedy "end-gaining," into its old habits, and inhibit undesirable impulses and activities. This is the minimum we have to do if we seriously desire to alter human beings in a desirable direction.

CHAPTER XIII

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

Among many other things, religion is a system of education. Alas, all the doctrines and practices of the existing religions are not calculated to ameliorate character or heighten consciousness! A great deal is pernicious; and a great deal more is ethically neutral, that is, not particularly bad but not particularly good. The rational idealist must oppose religious practices which lead to moral evil and a darkening of the mind. Persecution and the suppression or distortion of truths can have nothing to do with religion.

If ethically neutral customs serve to facilitate and enrich the relations between man and man, between group and group, the rational idealist will accord them a certain qualified favour, but also recognise that such things do not help but hinder men to attain the highest forms of human development. Gautama Buddha described ritual as one of the Ten Fetters which bind men to illusion and prevent them from attaining enlightenment. Rites may help such individuals as have neither the desire nor the capacity for enlightenment, to behave a little better. To be enlightened means to be developed to the limits of human capacity.

The founders of religions and religious philosophers have divided human beings into a minority of individuals capable of making efforts for attaining enlightenment, and a great majority incapable of making such efforts. "Many are called but few are chosen." Certain people are said to constitute "the salt of the earth." Ceremonial, formulas, worship of images, a calendar of holy days, are for the vulgar. Such external aids to devotion are strong fetters holding men back from enlightenment or communion with God.

The history of ideas is to a great extent the history of misinterpretation of ideas. An outstanding individual formulates a theory; other individuals, not possessing his natural endowments, read what he has written and re-interpret his words in the light of their own experience, knowledge and prejudice. We thus learn from such a great teacher, not to be like him, but to be more ourselves. Misunderstood, the words of the great teachers serve to justify *our* desires, and rationalise our beliefs. A great part of ritual in any religion is a product of misunderstanding, not a survival from the past. Misunderstanding leads to the grossest forms of superstition.

Ritual and ceremonial will arise as long as the masses of people are emotional. Ritual does not create emotion, but emotion creates ritual. To create a ritual in the hope that it will create a religious emotion (as Comte did) is to put the cart before the horse. A ceremony is like a work of art: even a sceptical spectator may be moved by it without being converted to it.

Rites and ceremonies may be used, like any other instrument, for evil purposes no less than for good purposes. The rational idealist will encourage their use for good purposes, and he will not fabricate new ritual.

Ceremonial or ritual is a mischievous and ethically neutral aspect of religion.

There are, however, elements in religious practices (not beliefs) which are valuable in so far as they provide methods of self-education. The physiological methods are best known. For example, repeated rhythmical movement to induce unusual states of mind. Rhythmical movement lulls the superficial consciousness and leaves the deeper mind free to concentrate on ultimate reality; it may provide for men and women of somatotonic type a more satisfying and convincing religious experience. Another example is that of asceticism, e.g. fasting, sleeplessness, discomfort and self-inflicted pain. This is the aim of many Indian Sadhus. It is possible for a man who employs the methods of mortification as a system of self-education, to achieve non-attachment; but it is very difficult; indeed such methods are dangerous, both physically and morally. Of those who undertake such methods of Yoga, only a very few are ready to do so for the right reason. Ascetics easily degenerate into record-breakers with vanity and recognition as their motives. Moreover a man in pain generally feels the pain, although a few ascetics may be able to so school their minds that they can ignore their pain. Such are the methods of Hatha Yoga. The character of most of the Hatha Yogis grows worse instead of better. The rational idealist will therefore avoid extreme asceticism, but he will also not neglect any system of physical training which promises to increase, without danger, the individual's conscious control of his organism.

Then there are the emotional methods of self-education which consist in the cultivation of an intimate emotional relationship between the worshipper and a personal God or other divine being. This is known to all Christians and Hindus. The Hindus know it as Bhakti-Marga (as opposed to Karma-Marga and Jnana-Marga). During the Middle Ages in India, the Bhagavata Reformation came as a revolt against the Pantheism of the Vedanta philosophy and the atheism of the Sankhya philosophy and Buddhism. The Bhagavata reformers emphasised the personal nature of God and the eternally personal existence of individual souls. A kind of Bhakti-Marga crept also into Buddhism with the rise of the Mahayana school which made the Buddha and the Bodhisattwas objects of Bhakti or devotion. For men and women of viscerotonic type, Bhakti provides a more satisfying and convincing religious experience. But Bhakti-Marga is inadequate, and it misrepresents the nature of ultimate reality. It can never lead to mystical intuition. The religion of Bhakti-Marga, however, often produces very considerable results with great rapidity. Bhakti-Marga is capable of producing great changes in the characters of devotees, but up to a point. There are dangers and defects, along with the virtues, in Bhakti-Marga or the path of devotion. Bhakti is directed towards human models as well as divine models, and produces excellent results so long as the Father or Guru himself behaves with perfect virtue. Devotion to a deified human person who is still alive tends to degenerate that person. "Power always corrupts. Absolute power absolutely corrupts. All great men are bad"—so said Lord Acton. Devotion to a man no longer alive cannot corrupt him, but he is corrupted by his biographers. The biographers of Jesus Christ, for example, have described him as never preoccupied with philosophy, art, music, science, politics, economics and sex, thus resulting in a fatal tendency among earnest Christians to despise artistic creation, philosophic thought, enquiring intelligence, problems of politics and economics, and to justify anger as righteous indignation. It is recorded by his biographers that Jesus blasted a fig tree for not bearing fruit out of season, that he scourged the shopkeepers in the temple precincts, and that he caused a herd of swine to drown.

In many cases devotion or bhakti is directed, not to a living human person nor to a dead human person, but to an eternal, omniscient, all-powerful God who is regarded as being a person. This natural tendency to conceive of a personal God as a being similar to a human person is peculiar to many religions, particularly the religion of the Old Testament. In the Old Testament, God is personal to the point of being almost sub-human. If a god can indulge in passions, the believer can also feel justified in giving way to passions. The fact that men have identified the promptings of their own passions with the voice of a personal God is really appalling. The fact that many peoples have based their conduct upon the moment-to-moment guidance of a personal deity is most depressing. If belief in a personal God has resulted in good ends, it has also released an enormous amount of energy directed towards silly, mad or downright evil ends. The enormous over-valuation of the individual ego (so characteristic of Western philosophy) is the result of a belief in a personal God. All the great religions have, however, taught the necessity of transcending personality. To make God a person is to laud personal values as the highest values. A belief in a personal God has given rise to the otherness of God. St. Augustine and Calvin preached the doctrine of the otherness of God. God being completely other, is regarded as being capable of anything. If you believe in the otherness of God, then grace alone should be effective in procuring salvation or enlightenment, which is not so. The systematic cultivation of the inner life is absolutely necessary for enlightenment. The belief that the inner life is without any eternal significance, turns the attention of people to only getting on in the world. The doctrine that virtue deserves a material reward gives a good conscience to oppressors of all kinds. For example, the wealthy recognised that their wealth is a sign of God's favour, the other fellow's poverty a sign of moral turpitude. This doctrine was effectively used by Hindu kings aided by Brahmins in seizing power. The *Dhammapada* says: "All that we are is the result of whatever we have thought." If we think wrongly, our being and our actions will be unsatisfactory. For example, Aztecs believed that the sun was a living person who required for his food the blood of human victims. Much of human unhappiness is due to such wrong metaphysical beliefs which are disastrous in their results.

Bhakti-Marga is still popular. The way of devotion seems more agreeable to many than the ways of knowledge and duty. Bhakti is an emotional method of self-education, but it can be converted into mass hysteria, thoughtless devotion and moral turpitude. Many religions have not recovered from an orgy of such emotionalism. But bhakti is so enjoyable to certain people that it will survive. The process of worship will always attract the masses. The objects of bhakti are saints and a personal God, but in modern times they are being replaced by the personified Nation and the deified leader, which is worse. There are those who enjoy bhakti as opposed to those who are intellectually averse to it. The rational idealist must advertise the fact that there is an alternative to bhakti and the false beliefs associated with it. He must also turn the irrepressible stream of bhakti into channels in which it will do the least mischief. Whenever, in Aristotle's phrase, God is thought of as the commander-in-chief rather than as the order of the army (rather than as a principle of integration), persecution always tends to arise. It is significant that before the coming of Mohammedans, there was virtually no persecution in India. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang has said that Hindus and Buddhists lived side by side without any show of violence. The methods of conversion were those of persuasion and argument, not those of force and violence. The Mohammedans who invaded India brought with them the idea of a God who was not the order of the army of being, but its general. Devotion towards this despotic personal God led to wholesale slaughter of Hindus and Buddhists by Mohammedans. Devotion to the personal God of Christianity also led to the wholesale slaughter of pagans and the retail torture and murder of heretics. The rational idealist must emphasise these facts to mitigate the evil tendencies inherent in the way of devotion or bhakti.

The third method of religious self-education is medita-

Landline :

tion. Buddha grants a secondary or even no place at all to prayer and belief in a personal deity, and considers *spiritual* concentration or art of recollection as supreme and indispensable for the religious life. The function of meditation is to put forth a special quality of will. Meditation is like a discourse addressed by the intellect to the will. This special quality of will cannot be obtained in terms of divine grace as something imparted by a super-natural person. According to Buddha, "Self is the lord of self." The rational will is a potentiality that any man, if he so desires and knows how, can actualise either in his present existence or in some future life, since according to Buddhism, the road to enlightenment is long and steep.

Physiological religion may be either solitary or social. Emotional religion may also be either solitary or social. In both cases, ritual enters as a channel along which the shared physical or emotional activity of the worshippers may flow towards its object. Meditation as a system of religious self-education is generally practised in solitude (although there is such a thing as group meditation). In group meditation, the essential requirement is a small group trained in the art of meditation and having experience of the good results of meditation. Group meditation is known among Hinayana Buddhists of Ceylon, the Mahayana Buddhists of Tibet, the Zen monks of Japan, certain Mohammedan dervishes of Asia Minor (Kemal Ataturk hanged many of them). All dictators and politically-minded reformers are distrustful of the mediator, the mystic. "Religion," according to Professor Whitehead, "is world loyalty." There is a "connection between universality and solitariness," inasmuch as "universality is a disconnection from immediate surroundings." The politician who thinks in terms of class and nation cannot tolerate the disconnection from immediate surroundings. All dictators have attacked religion as the opium of the masses, but the fact of the matter is that all true religions teach loyalty to the universe than to the world, train men in non-attachment to the things of this world, which is most inconvenient for the dictator in particular and the politician in general. The politician demands that all men should be parochial or national. All kinds of universal loyalty taught by all true religions—whether theistic, pantheistic, or atheistic—do not suit the purposes of politicians, for their love is for limited loyalty (loyalty to local idols, the nation, the party and the leader). Because meditation is limited to an individual or to a small group, it is difficult to be abused. Nevertheless, it has been abused. In Japan the ruling classes before the Second World War put naval cadets through a course of Zen meditation (mind-training) to train the will in the service of militarism.

Acc No......... Date......... Jammu

CHAPTER XIV

BELIEFS

What do we want to become? What are we now? How do we propose to pass from our present condition to the condition we desire to reach?

It is impossible to live without a metaphysic. The choice is not between a metaphysic and no metaphysic, but between the good metaphysic and a bad metaphysic.

What do we know about the world we live in? We seek identity behind diversity, although science recognises the specificity of things as well as their underlying sameness. Hegel mistook the nature of the world as only rational and therefore deducible *a priori*. Between material phenomena there is a difference not only of quantity but also of quality.

Science pictures the material universe as composed of a diversity of patterns of a single substance. An individual existent is nothing except in so far as it is a part of a larger whole. The network of separate, individual existents, gives them their being and reality. Thus a man is what he is, only in virtue of his relationships with the surrounding universe. The commonsense claim that we live among, and ourselves are, independent existents, is based on ignorance. The truth is that we are interdependent parts of a totality. The tendency in political theory, to regard entities like nation and state as realities more concrete than human beings, has led to great evils. Science reveals and mystics confirm that concrete reality consists of the interdependent parts of a totality and that independent existents are really abstractions from that reality.

The world of human beings is only a small part of the universe as a whole. We are confined to a particular point in space and have no knowledge of conditions prevailing in distant parts of the universe. The organs by means of which we establish direct communication with our physical world are incapable of apprehending the whole reality. Even if we were able to make a voyage through space, we may still be unable to see or feel a molecule, be stone-deaf to all sounds above a certain pitch, be incapable of seing electro-magnetic vibrations, be unable to perceive the passage of time, be unable to charter our way like birds, and so on. Human beings belong to animal species; and every animal species inhabits a home-made universe, hollowed out of the real universe by means of its organs of perception and its intellectual faculties. In man's case the intellectual faculties are so highly developed that he is able, unlike animals, to infer the existence of the larger universe enclosing his private universe. He cannot see the atom or the molecule, but he knows by inference that atomic energy exists and he is even able to make practical use of such energy. The universe in which we have our daily living is the product of our limitations. We ourselves have made it, selecting it from a total reality which is qualitatively and quantitatively different.

As opposed to the scientific picture of the material world, the scientific picture of the mind is less clearly outlined. Indeed there are several different scientific pictures of mind. The Behaviourist school explains all mental activity in terms of conditioned reflexes; that the mind is nothing but an instrument, forged during the course of evolution, for securing food, sexual satisfaction and the conditions of physical survival. Others argue that mind cannot be determined by matter; that mind is able to pass judgments; that the laws of thought are also the laws of things. Science believes in the ability of the human intellect, using the method of logic, to make true judgments about the nature of the world. But scientific judgments of the nature of the world based only on the study of a few physical phenomena cannot lead to the formulation of a theory of general validity. A theory of general validity is based upon an act of faith, faith in the ultimate explicability of the world, faith that the laws of thought are laws of things. A metaphysical conception of the physical world is the foundation of science.

Much research has been done on the nature of the mind and its position in the world. One of the conclusions of medical research has been that many diseases, organic as well as functional, are directly caused by mental states. The body becomes ill because the mind controlling it either secretly wants to make it ill, or else because it is in such a state of agitation that it cannot prevent the body from sickening. It has been proved that teeth decay is caused by mental strain as well as an unsatisfactory diet. Mind not only makes sick, it also cures. Faith heals. Investigations have proved the existence of telepathy and clairvoyance and the existence of pre-vision. Telepathy is some kind of purely mental medium which has its existence outside time. The mind exists independently of the body—a psychic factor within a psychic medium.

Let us now consider the material-mental combined scientific picture. Our planet is the only part in which we can study life and consciousness. To generalise about the nature of things from our inferences regarding our planetary history would seem to be unjustified. The results of evolution—mutation, hybridisation, retardation of growth and natural selection—are sufficient to account for evolution. It is unnecessary to go into the causes of evolution. Evolution is due to luck, rather than cunning, and therefore extremely slow. Characters cannot be acquired simply by inheritance; evolution would be rapid if this were so. Evolution works through natural selection or, in other words, competition. Competition is of two kinds: between members of different species (inter-specific competition) and between members of the same species (intra-specific competition). Intra-specific selection or competition leads to an excessively precise adaptation to a given set of circumstances—in other words, to excessive specialisation which is inimical to genuine biological progress. The special adaptations favoured by intra-specific competition divert a certain amount of energy from other functions. Man has now little to fear from inter-specific competition, that is competition with other species. For man competition is now predominantly intra-specific. Most of this intra-specific competition is not biologically necessary, but entirely gratuitous and voluntary. Competition between adults of the same species is disastrous to the species as a whole, for if we continue this unnecessary competition, we will finally end in making the human species extinct. Evolution is a genuine progress, but, if it is one-sided or specialised, progresses in a particular direction. It is not a progress, if progress means going forward by preservation and all-round development of a species. A one-sided progress is not general progress, and we know that only general progress can lead to real progress. The success of one-sided or specialised progress is evident, but foredoomed to fail. Creatures who can perform one sort of tasks and live in one sort of environment cannot perform another sort of tasks and live in another sort of environment. This failure to adjust may result in extinction. So specialisation or one-sided progress means going out of the race of evolution, and shutting off from the possibility of progress. All species, except man, have succumbed to specialisation. Man alone has not succumbed to it and was therefore able to progress in the direction of greater awareness, greater intelligence and greater control over environment. Human evolution means genuine progress only when there is all-sided advance, when there is intra-specific co-operation instead of competition, and when the advance is intelligent and based on awareness of one another's needs.

From the world we actually live in, we arbitrarily abstract only primary qualities. Our scientific methods do not allow us to deal with the immense complexity of reality. We select only those elements of reality which can be mathematically treated. This has led to our astonishing understanding of our physical environment. But as a result of their success over physical phenomena, many scientists and philosophers have come to imagine that useful abstraction from reality is reality itself. Reality has many other aspects apart from the physical aspects. Science has ignored, because it was not capable, the other aspects of reality, and concentrated only on physical aspects. To identify physical phenomena as the ultimate reality is a great error. Scientists have no right to claim that a physical picture of the world is a complete picture of reality. The physical picture of the world is at best a partial picture—the product at once of our special competence in mathematics and our special incompetence to deal with aesthetic and moral values, religious experiences and mystical intuitions.' Because the great majority of people believe that an arbitrary abstraction from reality is reality itself, they therefore consider the world as without meaning or value. But nobody likes to live in a world without meaning or value. Therefore, to satisfy their hunger for meaning and value, people turn to such doctrines as Nationalism. The people who consider the world as meaningless are abnormal and insane. Marquis de Sade, a philosopher of the French Revolution, carried the philosophy of meaninglessness to its logical conclusion. According to him, values were illusory and ideals merely cunning inventions; sensations and animal pleasures alone were worth living for. This is perverted thinking. De Sade preached violence not only in politics and economics but also in sexual relations. Having destroyed a particular system of values embodied in the French Ancient Regime, he proceeded to deny the existence of any values, any idealism, any binding moral imperatives.' His disgraceful thinking can be summed up in one sentence: If it is legitimate to kill in one set of circumstances, why not in all other circumstances?

When all is said and done, we must realise that there is a meaning in the world, and that this meaning is incompatible with inequity. The philosophy of meaninglessness is so dissatisfying that people who accept it soon exchange it for any dogma which has some meaning. If the world possesses value and meaning, as it undoubtedly does, there must be an ultimate reality or God. Kant in his earlier writingss proved God's existence, based upon the argument that the possible presupposes the actual (that is, if contingent beings exist, there must exist a necessary being). This was a cosmological proof of God; the existence of casually related events implies the existence of a First Cause. In his later writings Kant abolished his own thesis by arguing that casuality is merely a principle for ordering appearances in the world of senses and therefore cannot be used for transcending the world of sense. But we know that our will is the cause of our performing a given action in the world of sense. If we can postulate a casual connection between one sense object and another sense object, we can also postulate a casual connection between a sense object and a mental state. If a mental state exists outside our world of sense, there is no reason why it should not be casually related to events in the world of sense. A mental state outside the world of sense indicates a moral argument for the world of sense. That is where religion comes in.

The moral argument for religion is based on moral action aimed at the realisation of the highest good. The highest good cannot be realised except where there is a virtuous rational will in persons and a world where virtue is united with happiness. In the world of phenomenon the most virtuous are not necessarily the happiest and the will is not always rational. The inevitable conclusion is that the union of virtue and happiness must be effected by some power external to ourselves, a power which so arranges things that (whatever partial and temporary appearance may be) the total world order is moral and demonstrates the union of virtue with happiness.

There are those who oppose the above moral argument for the existence of God as wishful thinking, and also on the ground that words like "virtue" and "good" are relative terms without any definite universal meaning. Such people forget that there are certain circumstances in which wishes are a reliable source of information, not only about ourselves but also about the outside world. For example, the wish of thirst justifies the existence of water to satisfy the thirst. If such a wishful argument about a certain phenomenon has validity there is bound to be a valid explanation for the existence of the ultimate reality. All our theories of the cosmos are in terms of identity behind diversity, based on our hunger or craving for explanation. The craving for righteousness is as fundamental as the craving for explanation. The difference is that our explanations of cosmos are based on observation and experiment, while the moral theory cannot be verified by direct observation and experiment. This is no reason to deny the truth of a moral theory nor the fact that it originates in wishes. Words like "virtue" and "good" do signify now this, now that. Judgments are passed by human beings on the basis of values which may differ from person to person. These values increase with an increase in knowledge, sensibility and non-attachment. When there is the maximum of knowledge, sensibility and non-attachment, judgments of values tend to be similar. That is why the great religions and ethical doctrines of the world are basically similar in fundamentals, although their cultures are dissimilar. Among human beings who have attained enlightenment there exists a real concensus of opinion in regard to ethical first principles. Results are disastrous when attempts are made to replace the ethical first principles of civilised humanity by other first principles in accord with the prevailing emotions and interests. All new moralities like Communism, Fascism or Nationalism affirm that the end justifies the means, justify the unlimited use of violence and cunning, preach the subordination of the individual to the state, inculcate the minor virtues but disparage the higher virtues without which the minor virtues are merely instruments for doing evil with increased efficiency.

All the folly and wickedness can be traced back to essentially mistaken views. God does not reveal Himself, we have to discover Him by conscious effort of the highest quality. Only ignorance sanctifies revelation. Ignorance about the nature of the universe eventually leads to ignorance of real values and magnification of small parts of the whole. To believe that the nation is God is a mistake just as grotesque as supposing that God is a kind of large invisible man with all the most disgraceful of human passions.

The conclusion is that an untrue philosophy leads in practice to undesirable and therefore disastrous results. We must realise the necessity of seeking a real philosophy that shall be true and therefore fruitful of good. Abstract reasoning creates a presumption in favour of one or other hypothesis. Final conviction can only come to those who make an act of faith. Every time we frame a scientific hypothesis, we draw inferences about all phenomena—past, present and future—on the assumption that the laws of thought are also laws of things. We should therefore also assume the truth of a moral hypothesis by an act of faith, by assuming that what we think is also the law of the universe.

The religious experience of the ultimate reality is more satisfying and convincing than a physical or emotional experience. A religious experience can come through meditation. Meditation establishes communion between the soul and the integrating principle of the universe. Ignorant non-believers have described a mystical experience as subjective and illusory. A deaf person cannot form any idea of the nature or significance of music, so also an ignorant person about the nature or significance of the ultimate reality. Conscious training is necessary for any experience about the nature or significance of anything. Training changes the nature of our experiences. By training we can feel direct intuitions of beauty and significance in a mathematical problem, or a beautiful poem, or a great work of art. It is the same in the moral world. A man who has trained himself in goodness can come to have direct intuition about character. Knowing depends upon being. To some one who has trained himself in goodness, virtue really is blessedness and badness torture. This training in goodness is tedious; for it involves the leading of a life of constant awareness and unremitting moral effort and steady meditation.

Those who undertake this training for goodness will have direct intuitions of an ultimate spiritual reality at once transcendent and immanent. There are those who question the validity of a mystical experience. There are good mystics and bad mystics, just as there are good and bad artists. The majority of artists are bad or indifferent, so also the majority of mystics. To bad or indifferent mystics ultimate reality appears under particular deities. To the best mystics ultimate reality appears as a spiritual reality without any shape or limits. "The Atma is silence" is what Hinduism says of ultimate spiritual reality. "If any one seeing God understands what he has seen, he has not seen God." "Nescio, nescio" said St. Bernard: "Neti, neti," said Yajnavalkya (I know not, I know not: not so, not so). The ultimate reality is some great impersonal force, imageless and emotionless. We can have this conception of the ultimate reality only through direct intuition. To think of God in terms of images cannot lead us to the ultimate reality. A mystical experience is a direct intuition of ultimate reality. Only the process of meditation can apprehend this essentially impersonal and emotionless ultimate reality.

Gautama Buddha said that desire is the source of illusion. To the extent it has overcome desire, a mind is free from illusion. This is true of the scientist, the artist and the philosopher. Only the disinterested mind can pass beyond our world of decay. The mystic is more disinterested than anybody else and is therefore able to transcend our ordinary world. That spiritual reality which the mystic discovers is completely moral. Why attribute ethical qualities to that ultimate impersonal reality (or God as we call it)? "God is not good. I am good." "The peace of God passeth all understanding; goodness is the way by which it can be approached." "Finite beings are always such as they are in virtue of an *inattention* which at present blinds them to their actual relations to God and to one another." That inattention is the fruit of desire which makes us attend only to our animal nature and to the business of getting on in the world. We must certainly give attention to the animal in us, but it is certainly unnecessary to give all or most of our attention to it. Goodness is the method by which we divert our attention from our animality and our individual separateness. Meditation (or recollection) assists goodness by producing "super-rational concentration of will" and by realising that the private universe of the average sensual man is a very small part of the universe as a whole. Conversely, goodness aids meditation by giving detachment from animality to sensuality. Goodness, meditation and God are all the same. God is not good, the ultimate reality is not moral; but if I want to have some or full knowledge of God, I must be as good as possible. Virtue is the essential preliminary to the experience of God. There is no incompatibility between an impersonal and not moral God (or ultimate reality) and a higher moral order of being. We can either emphasise our separateness from other beings and God, or emphasise our oneness with our fellows and God. In so far as human beings rise above animality and personality, they are able to perceive that they are inter-related parts of physical and spiritual wholes greater than themselves. The fundamental commandment is therefore that we shall realise our unity with all being, whether present or ultimate. This unity can be realised only by practising the virtues of love and understanding. Love, compassion and understanding or intelligence are the primary ethical virtues. We must practise the highest morality and respect the personality of others.

"The fact of the instability of evil is the moral order of the world." Evil is that which makes for separateness, and that which makes for separateness is self-destructive. This self-destruction of evil may be sudden, gradual or reformative. Biological specialisation or separateness results in a stopping of further biological progress or the extinction of the species. When human beings insist on their separateness, the results are equally disastrous. The qualities of intelligence and co-operation are the qualities which have led to biological as well as human progress. Love and understanding are valuable even on the biological level. Hatred, unawareness and stupidity make for increase of separateness and therefore can lead to the extinction of a species or to its becoming a living fossil.

CHAPTER XV

ETHICS

The ethic of cosmology is: Good is that which makes for unity; Evil is that which makes for separateness. Separateness is attachment. Without non-attachment no individual can achieve unity with God or, through God, with other individuals.

Good and evil exist on the plane of the body, on the plane of the emotions, and on the plane of the intellect. In practice all these planes are inseparable.

Good and evil on the plane of the body and in relation to sex:—Any physical sensation, pleasurable or painful, causes the individual to identify himself with that sensation. In general, excess of pain as of pleasure makes for separateness or attachment. Bodily health is a condition of spiritual union with ultimate reality. Pascal considered mortification or sickness of the body as preparing man for an ideal life. But sickness may create distractions in the form of pain and temptations in the form of self-egotism. A moderate sickness or physical defect may act as a reminder that the things of this world are not so important as the animal and the social climber in us imagine them to be. In proclaiming the value of sickness Pascal was advocating a physiological method of self-education through the mastery of pain. But too frequently pain is not mastered, but achieves mastery—leads to attachment rather than non-attachment.

Bodily health is essential for spiritual health. The anonymous author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* says that sickness is a serious obstacle in the way of true devotion to God, and therefore a form of sin. Any bodily states and habits, which cause a man to concentrate on his own separateness, hinder him from paying attention to his true relation with God and his fellows. Indeed extreme sickness or extreme pleasure are both sinful. There is a saying that to him that has shall be given and from him that has not shall be taken away all. This is an accurate summary of the facts of moral life. For sickness of body we have to pay for in many ways. Some sick people may triumph over sickness by a superhuman effort, but for the rest failure is writ large. Weakness may be forgiven, but forgiveness cannot prevent it from having the ordinary results of weakness. "Men," said Spinoza, "may be excusable and nevertheless miss happiness." He who cannot check or rule his passions may be excusable on the ground of weakness, but he is nevertheless incapable of enjoying conformity of spirit and knowledge and love of God.

Physically speaking, sex is sometimes good and sometimes evil. It is evil when it takes the form of a physical addiction. Habit-forming sex prevents the mind from thinking of anything but a physical sensation. Addiction cannot be destroyed by satiation; satiation only makes it a demoniac possession. If virtue is its own reward, evil (like addiction) brings the punishment of misery and the torment of body and mind. The addiction blinds the addict to his true relations with God and his fellows. It is a paradox that civilised and self-conscious men and women despise themselves for their addictions, and long for what they lack, but still fly from their good selves.

Sex is also evil when it manifests itself as a way of satisfying the lust for power. Sexual love (even maternal love) may be merely a device for imposing the lover's will upon the beloved. Such a lust harms not only the person who lusts but also the person or persons at whose expense the lust is satisfied. Non-attachment becomes impossible for both parties when their object is to dominate one or the other.

Sex is also evil when it is used for satisfying social vanity. There are people who marry not a person, but money or social influence. There are others who marry beauty or distinction for flaunting their partners before the eyes of an envying world. This lust for ownership is blinding and harmful to the owned person as well as the owner.

Sex is a virtuous means of achieving union with each other and indirectly with the world, when *not* used as an instrument of domination or as an instrument for expressing vanity and snobbishness. All the world loves a lover, and a lover loves all the world. To love in a true way is to achieve direct intuition of the essentially lovely nature of ultimate reality. Love is not blind; the blind are those who are not in true love.

Sexual activity is related to mental activity in individuals and to the cultural condition of society. All human societies are in one or another of four cultural conditions: zoistic, manistic, deistic, rationalistic. Zoistic (uncivilised) societies display the least mental and social energy, the rationalistic societies the most. The cultural condition of a society rises in proportion as it imposes pre-nuptial and post-nuptial restraints upon sexual opportunity. The society which observes greatest continence (chastity) by enforcing pre-nuptial chastity and post-nuptial monogamy, displays the greatest energy, and may be called deistic.

The energy produced by sexual chastity starts as "expansive energy" and results in the society becoming aggressive. This energy becomes productive only when the rigorous tradition of sexual restraint is inherited by a number of generations. Productive energy does not spend itself exclusively in expansion; it also goes into science, speculation, art, social reform. Where productive energy persists for some length of time, "human entropy" comes into play. Human entropy is the inherent tendency towards increased refinement and accuracy. Dr. J. D. Unwin in his *Sex and Culture* has said: "No society can display productive social energy unless a new generation inherits a social system under which sexual opportunity is reduced to a minimum. If such a system be preserved, a richer and yet richer tradition will be created, refined by human entropy." Any human society is free to choose between the display of great energy or the enjoyment of sexual freedom. But both cannot go together.

Even the traditions of pre-nuptial chastity and post-nuptial monogamy lead to undesirable results if they are used as an instrument for the oppression of women and children. Wives have been regarded as slaves or mere chattels by their husbands. The relations between the sexes must first be placed on a footing of complete legal equality, if sexual opportunity is to be regulated to remain at a minimum for an extended period.

In uncivilised societies people are living in a condition of animal solidarity. Animal solidarity is below good and evil, in other words sub-ethical. People on the uncivilised level are too much preoccupied with and completely de-energised by unrestricted sexual indulgence to pay attention to their relations with God and with one another. Awareness is the condition of any moral behaviour superior to that of animals. Sexual chastity is the pre-condition of awareness and of energy, indeed of all moral behaviour. The energy released by chastity may be used for bullying and exploiting the weak just as well as for cultural and spiritual accomplishments. Mental and social energy is comparable to the energy of falling water which can be used for any purpose. Thus we see that chastity is a major virtue without which societies lack energy and individuals are condemned to perpetual attachment. In another sense chastity is a minor virtue like courage. Unless they are directed by the major virtues of love and intelligence, the minor virtues are not virtues at all but aids to wickedness. Chastity is a minor virtue when associated with uncharitable practices like subjection of women. The fruits of any good thing can be benevolent or malevolent depending upon will and training.

Historically and in actual practice, chastity (a precondition of a superior moral life) has tended to be more evil than good. The potentiality of greater good has always been associated with the actuality of greater evil. This historical association of potentiality of good with the actuality of evil can be broken only by deliberate choice directed by ideals and facts. The remedy lies as usual in awareness and good will. Only by consistently applying the major virtues of charity and intelligence can we prevent the minor but indispensable virtues like chastity and courage from filling the world with actual evil.

The modern world has three choices: (1) increase pre-nuptial and post-nuptial sexual opportunity with a decline in mental and social energy; (2) tighten up sexual restraint with an increase in energy without improving the ethical quality of that energy; and (3) retain pre-nuptial chastity and post-nuptial absolute monogamy, at the same time making women the legal equals of men.

The choice of sexual restraint without ethical quality is the policy of dictators and all totalitarian states. They exploit the correlation between puritanism and energy, just as they do with the correlation between discipline and militarism. They tighten sexual restraints for increasing mental and social energy which is then directed for aggressive purposes.

By the choice of pre-nuptial chastity and post-nuptial monogamy and by establishing complete legal equality between the sexes, we can avoid the revolt against compulsory chastity and thus arrest the decline of once energetic societies. By making women the legal equals of men, compulsory chastity can be made tolerable by doing away with domination of one sex over the other sex. Our main problem, however, is to discover a way to direct all the energy produced by compulsory chastity along desirable, ethical channels. The particular problem of moralising the energy produced by chastity is the same as the general problem of realising ideal ends by appropriate means.

Good and evil on the plane of emotions:—All the familiar deadly sins are the products of separate emotions. Anger, envy, fear, sloth, are all based on our separateness from one another. Sloth is a refusal to do what ought to be done.

The human vices or sins (as opposed to animal vices) are the most fruitful of evil. The lust for power, pride, vanity, ambition and avarice attach us to objects of desire. Physical addictions may be interrupted by satiety, but not the emotional addictions like the lust for power or the lust for possessions. The cravings for power and possessions are extra-physical and therefore unremittingly separative and evil. There can be no improvement in our world until people come to be convinced that the power seeker is as disgusting as the glutton or the miser. Extra-physical vices are the most harmful and the hardest to resist. La Rochefoucauld has said that men desert love for ambition, but not ambition for love. Because such human vices are of the spirit, they are often confused with virtue. But they are separative and therefore evil. A state of greatest possible unification (in other words, goodness) can be achieved by the use of intrinsically unifying (in other words, good) means. Power, wealth and social position separate rather than unify; and they are therefore bad means which cannot attain desirable ends. Activities which produce attachment cannot produce unification. So long as popular morality does not condemn these human vices miscalled virtues by power seekers and social climbers, the world cannot make real progress.

Good and evil on the intellectual plane: Intelligence is a major virtue and is of two kinds. The first consists in awareness of, and ability to deal with, things and events in the external world. The second consists in awareness of, and ability to deal with, the phenomena of the inner world. That is, intelligence in relation to the not-self and in relation to the self. The completely intelligent person is intelligent in both ways. Such people are unhappily rare. Many men and women cannot deal with the external world, nor understand the inner self; which is true of many philosophers also. A philosopher is a man who loves wisdom and lives wisely. The modern philosopher discusses problems like a wise man without living like a wise man. Nietzche wrote about the Superman, but he was a glutton. Kant was also a glutton in some measure and in addition unsympathetic to others in the presence of sickness and death; he also claimed infallibility about his system of philosophy and resented fresh thinking. Hegel was also childish and egotistic. Philosophers (like Nietzche, Kant and Hegel) are intelligent in certain directions, but profoundly stupid in others. When you do not apply your intelligence to the subject of yourself, you are an intelligent fool. The wise fool knows only about himself. The wise fool does less harm than the intelligent fool. The wise fool is personally capable of enlightenment—or non-attachment. The intelligent fool cannot achieve enlightenment. Our present educational system produces the greatest possible number of intelligent fools who know nothing about themselves but claim to know everything about the universe.

One cannot deal intelligently with any matter about which one is ignorant. If one is to deal intelligently with oneself, one must be aware of one's real motives, of the secret sources of one's thoughts, feelings and actions, of the nature of one's sentiments, impulses and sensations, and of the circumstances in which one is liable to behave well or badly. Good is that which heightens awareness, especially awareness of oneself. Self-transcendence is through self-consciousness. A human being who is the creature of current sensing, feeling, thinking or doing is not a full person, not an adult. Personality is not a self which is self-conscious. It is a totality of life which emerges into selfness or personality when there is consciousness of the totality. The greater part of human life is subjective. This subjective existence (expressed in thoughts, feelings and sensations) can be terminated at will. Any one, who so desires and knows how, can live his life entirely on a subjective level, and from that subjective level can pass, if he so desires and knows how, to a super-subjective or super-personal level. To have a double consciousness (to be both a full-grown person with knowledge and control over himself and also an inspired being in continuous intuitive relation with the impersonal integrating principle of reality), that is to attain a super-personal level, is a rare state of being. True "Samadhi"—consciousness of the Light and awareness of worldly duty—is rare.

If we would transcend personality, we must first become adult persons. We cannot become adult persons unless we make ourselves self-conscious. About the self-possessed person Gautama Buddha has said: "In looking forward and looking backward he acts composedly, that is with consciousness of what is being done, of the self who is doing, and of the reasons for which the self is performing the act. In being or stretching arm or body he acts composedly. In eating, drinking, chewing, swallowing, in relieving another's needs, in going, standing, sitting, sleeping, waking, speaking, keeping silence, he acts composedly."

To have mental and moral awareness, a human being must have physical awareness, that is self-control. The methods of heightening the awareness are self-analysis, periodical analysis at the hands of others, habitual self-recollectedness, and resistance to complete identification with momentary thoughts, feelings, sensations or actions. The principle is simple, but the practice difficult.

Where self or personality is developed for its own sake, there tends to be a raising of the barriers of separateness and an increase of egotism. The development of personality or self is not an end, but a means to an ulterior end. That ulterior end is the transcendence of personality. The obsessive preoccupation with sin and the consequences of sin, produces an obsessive preoccupation with the separate self and its lusts for power and possessions. When we sin, we are not graceful. We must make conscious efforts to be graceful. God does not arbitrarily withhold grace and forgiveness from a sinner; instead it is more apt to say that a sinner cannot attain God. Sin is the chief obstacle in the way of the soul's union with God or ultimate reality. Sin is the fruit of self-will. Self-will is "opposition attempted by a finite subject against its proper whole." The important thing is to cultivate a proper self-will by the practice of goodness and the raising of consciousness first to self-awareness and then awareness of God. Obsessive pre-occupation with past sins can only stand in the way of rising above the self as a result of obsessive pre-occupation with the self. After awareness of our sins, we should stop sinning and concentrate on God. "It is a great grace of God," says St. Teresa, "to practise self-examination; but too much is as bad as too little." Too much consciousness of sinfulness is an obstacle in concentrating on God. There is another danger also. If we are obsessed with our own sins, we will also be obsessed with the sins of others and therefore desire to persecute in the name of God.

Any morality or religion, the fruits of which are peace, toleration and charity, is a desirable morality. Any morality, the fruits of which are war, malice, persecution, dogmatism and censorship, is an undesirable morality. The doctrines of Sankara and Buddha, for example, are more close to the nature of ultimate reality or God than the doctrines of Luther and St. Augustine. To consider a doctrine, the fruits of which are evil, as better than a doctrine, the fruits of which are good, is to affirm that evil is the result of acting upon true beliefs about the universe and that good is the result of acting upon false beliefs. False beliefs invariably result in evil, true beliefs invariably result in good. What we think determines what we are and do; what we are and do determines what we think. False thinking results in wrong action. In life, ethics and metaphysics are interdependent. What is right is what ought to be right. Whether ethical principles shall be applied well or badly or not at all, at all points in life, depends upon a true education and a true religion. Through ethics the entire activities of individuals and societies must be guided by their fundamental beliefs. Fundamental beliefs about the nature of the world and of God are all the more essential when we have no universally accepted solutions to our diverse problems. If we want to go from darkness to light, we must relate all our problems to a true theory of the ultimate nature of reality so that a real synthesis is made possible.

Vidya Bhavan Kendra Library
Acc No.......
Date ....
Jammu

G.M. College of Education
Raipur, Bantalab
Jammu
Acc. No. 2953 (D)
Dated 3/2/2016

Vidya Bhavan K
Acc No.
Date
Gandhinagar, Jammu

Landline :

THE AUTHOR

Born on 26th July 1894, Aldous Huxley had his education at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. He worked on the editorial staff of the *Athenaeum* in 1919-20 and was dramatic critic of the *Westminster Gazette* in 1920-21.

Huxley had his first book, *The Burning Wheel*, published as early as 1916. More books followed, and over a period of nearly fifty years he has had to his credit as many titles, covering a broad variety of subjects. His literary output continues and even this year he has brought forth *Island*.

Huxley's thinking is so simple and his expression of it so clear that there is no risk of his readers not understanding him. And what they understand will surely set them thinking and keep them at it. For a sick world torn with the pain of conflict in every field of human activity, Huxley prescribes the wholesome medicine—an admixture of the moral virtues with intellectual ability and physical efficiency.